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THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN ACTION

Case Studies of American Communities

BY

JESSE FREDERICK STEINER

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY
TULANE UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

In connection with my classes in community organization during the past seven years, I have asked my graduate students to prepare an analysis of their home community with special emphasis upon the interplay of social forces rather than upon social conditions and problems. This proved to be a difficult task, for it required not merely an objective attitude toward a place to which the student was sentimentally attached but real insight into the nature of the community and capacity to recognize and set forth the more significant factors that entered into its making. Out of the hundreds of community stories prepared by my students, twenty have been selected for presentation in this volume. In every case they were written by competent students and have passed through successive stages of revision in the interests of greater accuracy as well as clearness of statement.

Because of the manner of selection of these community studies, it was not possible to have them representative of all parts of America. However, they are by no means limited to any single region, for the communities described are located in Canada and the following thirteen states: Alabama, Georgia, Iowa, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Montana, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, Vermont, and Virginia. Rural and small town communities predominate partly because the majority of the students came from such places but chiefly for the reason that acceptable analyses of city communities are difficult to make. Perhaps this fact carries with it no great disadvantage as far as the purposes of this volume are concerned, for the small community better than the large and the more complex community clearly illustrates the typical forces found in all communities regardless of size.

Identification marks have for the most part been removed

so as to avoid the danger of giving offense either to individuals or communities. In my opinion, this danger of offending has been greatly exaggerated, and as an experiment, four of the studies are included with no attempt to hide the identity of the communities. The advantage to the reader of being able to identify and locate the community under discussion is so obvious that in the future, publications of this kind will very probably conceal few names except those of individuals mentioned in the record. In the removal of identification marks in these community studies, care has been taken to make no essential changes in the situation or to modify in any way the facts and incidents set forth. It should be mentioned that the introductory note which precedes each record was not a part of the original material but was added by the present writer in an effort to explain the nature of each study and to call attention to points of special significance.

Several years' experience in using these community case records in my classes has convinced me of their value as concrete materials well adapted to the needs of sociological students. Especially do records of this kind facilitate the use of the case method of instruction in introductory courses in sociology as well as in technical courses in community organization. But perhaps the most distinctive contribution made by these community studies is the realistic picture they present of American life. They dramatize in a vivid manner the conflicts, the loyalties, the provincialism, the restless ambition, the pettiness, the spirit of achievement, the high vision, and the hopes and fears that entered into this struggle of the American people to build up a stable community life in the midst of a rapidly changing world. Through the perusal of these stories the reader catches a glimpse of America as it is to-day and gains a deeper insight into the forces that molded its past and are shaping its future destiny.

Among those who have collaborated with me in the preparation of these community studies are the following: Elizabeth Black, W. J. Blackburn, Jr., Mrs. Lee M. Brooks, Hasseltine Byrd, Mrs. Grace Chaffee, Emma L. Coyle, Mary L. Gunter,

Harriet L. Herring, Elizabeth Hoyle, Guy B. Johnson, Julietta Kahn, Mary Kittinger, George Lawrence, A. F. Raper, J. J. Rhyne, Mary P. Smith, Elizabeth Smith, Julia M. Taylor, and R. B. Vance. The unpublished manuscripts of many other students have been drawn upon for the illustrative material used in the introductory chapter.

I owe a real debt of gratitude to Miss Harriet L. Herring of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina for her efficient aid in the selection of most of these community studies and her painstaking labor in their revision. Dr. L. L. Bernard of Tulane University and Dr. R. E. Park of the University of Chicago read several of the chapters and gave helpful suggestions and criticism. Miss Katharine Jocher, Assistant Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina, greatly facilitated the preparation of this material by reading critically a large portion of it and placing at my disposal the stenographic help of the Institute. And finally, grateful acknowledgment must be made to Dr. Howard W. Odum, the editor of the series in which this volume appears, who from the first insisted that these community case studies should be prepared for publication and gave me no rest until the manuscript was completed.

J. F. Steiner.

Tulane University,
February 25, 1928.

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THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN ACTION

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CHAPTER I

SOCIAL CHANGE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The New Approach to Community Development. A quarter of a century ago the growing interest in the community as a social unit began to express itself in social surveys designed to reveal the actual conditions existing in the local areas studied. Through a wide application of this survey method, a flood of light has been thrown on the nature and extent of community problems in many different types of places. Community diagnoses of poverty, public health, educational facilities, and other aspects of community life have become increasingly popular and upon the findings of such studies many programs of reform have been constructed.

With the more recent emphasis on community organization, it has become apparent that this older type of social survey is inadequate. From the point of view of the community organizer it is essential that there should be an understanding of the nature of the community as well as of the ills to be corrected. The cross section of the community as revealed by the survey must be supplemented by a vision of the community in action, if progress is to be made in uniting the people in support of a common project. The community study to be able to meet this new demand upon it must give large place to the different factors that affect social change. The natural history of the community, its topography and economic basis, its social, economic, and racial cleavages,

its conflicts and misunderstandings, the beliefs, sentiments, and attitudes of the people, the quality of its leadership, the nature and strength of its customs and traditions, its relation to other communities, and other similar factors that have influenced its rise and development, constitute the fruitful topics for investigation to which greater attention should be given.

Already considerable beginnings have been made in collecting material of this kind in spite of the fact that the usual social survey has placed its emphasis elsewhere. The interplay of the social forces of a community has been too obvious a fact to be entirely neglected. Intensive studies of social problems in particular communities have inevitably led to a consideration of the currents and cross-currents of community life. Efforts to probe into the history of local agencies and institutions bring to light facts of great value in understanding the community as a whole. Conflicts between social groups and personal rivalries of leaders are being made the subject of careful study. Case histories of communities are being written which record important events in the process of community growth. The further advance yet to be made is a greater realization of the significance of such data and the undertaking of more comprehensive studies of the community in action.

The case studies of communities included in this volume represent one phase of this quest for a deeper understanding of the problem of community development. They bear no claim to completeness; on the contrary, they may rightly be regarded as fragmentary pictures of the drama of community life presented from the limited outlook of a single observer. Nevertheless, they cannot be characterized as superficial or impressionistic. The writer of each study had been a long resident of the

community described and possessed the additional qualification of capacity for social analysis. Prepared by persons intimately acquainted with the community situation and yet detached from it sufficiently to discuss it in an objective manner, these community records comprise data of scientific value which point the way to a deeper insight into the problems of social guidance and control. Whatever their limitations, they arise more from incompleteness than from inaccuracy of observation or statement. They need to be supplemented by more intensive studies of a similar kind which will make available a composite picture of the community to which many competent observers will have contributed from their varied points of view.

The Tangled Web of Community Forces. One of the chief difficulties encountered in community analysis is the complex nature of the community itself. It is a mistake to assume that the community is a simple social unit that lends itself easily to manipulation or even to thorough study. The wide variety of elements and forces that enter into its making furnishes convincing evidence of its many ramifications and diverse interests. To understand its physical structure consideration must be given to such factors as location, topography, economic basis, and means of transportation and communication. Viewed as a social unit, it is made up of individuals, families, informal social groups, organizations, institutions, all interrelated in multitudinous ways. To the student of economics, the community presents itself as a constellation of economic forces intimately bound up with its trade life and industrial development. Those interested in religion find the community a fertile field for the study of religious organizations and institutions and their effectiveness as a means of social control. The com-

munity, to the social reformer, becomes a laboratory where various experiments can be carried on in the effort to deal with social problems. The community, moreover, is organized as a political unit with its laws and local government and its machinery of political parties. Educationally, it has its public school system, library, newspaper, and other means of disseminating knowledge. The people themselves, apart from their organized efforts to satisfy their more important wants, may comprise different races and nationalities, vary greatly in their beliefs, attitudes, customs, and traditions, and are widely divergent in their abilities and dominant desires. The strong urge for congenial associations leads to the formation of clubs and social organizations, cliques and factions, all of which cut across the institutional life of the community and form a network of relationships that can hardly be unraveled.

With the community made up in this manner and comprising so many diverse elements and forces, it is exceedingly difficult to view it in its proper perspective and explain its growth and present status. It becomes even more difficult to devise unifying machinery that will make possible a coördinated effort to direct community growth and development in the best interests of all concerned.

The Community and Social Change. In a very real sense the fundamental approach to an understanding of the community and its problems is through a study of the process of social change. In all communities, even those most conservative, there is constantly going on a process of adjustment to changing conditions. Community problems may be regarded as a result of failure to make adequate adjustments. Sometimes the rapid pace set by cultural changes brings a strain upon the com-

munity that cannot be successfully met. More frequently perhaps, the closely interrelated parts of the community are thrown out of balance by changes that affect them unequally. Since the community comprises such a vast network of interdependent elements and forces, it is practically impossible to foresee all the ultimate effects of projected changes. Social legislation designed to control child labor may increase the burdens of relief-giving agencies. A successful fight for shorter hours of labor involves more attention to the improvement of facilities for wholesome leisure-time activities. Rapid industrial expansion may mean not merely increased wealth but the assimilation of new population groups that do not fit in well with existing community traditions. The improvement of educational standards and facilities brings in its train the necessity for new adjustments of great importance to the coming generation. The development of a technique for community improvement must include a clear insight into the implications of contemplated changes so that the wider interests of the whole community may be safeguarded.

With all the emphasis that is placed on the desirability of a more rational and orderly development of community life, it cannot be claimed that present accomplishments go much farther than loosely correlated efforts to deal with various community problems. The community itself is a product of its times, and its essential features are determined more by current trends than by arbitrary decrees. Apparently, social change goes forward to a very considerable degree more as an indirect result of man's multiform activities than in any direct response to conscious human guidance. At any rate, there is a very remote possibility of making within a short period of time any sweeping community changes in accord with some

preconceived plan. But even with this limitation there is ample justification for efforts to improve community conditions. In many cases, minor adjustments in the social order are all that is required for a smoother working of the community machinery. The importation of a well-qualified leader, the establishment of a better educational system, the overthrow of a corrupt local government, or the bringing in of new industrial opportunities, all come within the recognized province of intelligent human effort, and may turn the scale in the direction of community progress.

The Declining Rôle of Small Communities. During this modern period of rapid urban growth, the small town and village communities, which played such a large part in the early development of our country, are failing to maintain their former position of prestige and influence. The low rate of population growth of many small communities as shown by the Federal census of the past two decades is a significant aspect of their changing status. During this period, approximately two out of five villages had little or no increase in population, and many others, especially those badly located, actually decreased in size. When it is recalled that the rural territory has suffered a much greater decline in its population growth, it is apparent that the small community is facing new problems of adjustment different from those characteristic of the pioneer period of settlement. This trend toward a more stabilized population in many of the small communities is a new phenomenon contrary to past experience in this rapidly developing country. Traditionally, the American community, whether large or small, has been dominated by an intense desire to grow in size. During the past century the curve of growth for the average community has mounted continuously upward, while those most fa-

vorably situated have enjoyed a remarkable expansion. The changing situation to which communities have had to make adjustments involved such factors as increased land values, greater business opportunities, larger numbers of people, and expanding institutions. The present day small community, on the other hand, with its retarded growth seems to be entering upon a period of decreasing economic returns to which its traditions and institutions are with great difficulty being adjusted. Even though such a community escapes the danger of stagnation, its more limited opportunities tend to drive away the able and ambitious, thus making inevitable a further decline in its place of leadership in wider affairs.

While the small community has had always to face certain limitations, it seems that under present conditions small size is a greater handicap to a community than it was a half century ago. The increasing competition with the city has put a strain on the small community that it formerly did not need to meet. Prior to the introduction of electric lights, gas plants, water mains, sewage disposal systems, fire departments, paved streets, hospitals, libraries, and similar devices and institutions that now are regarded as essential elements of modern civilization, the city did not far surpass the small town in its provisions for comfortable living. The small town of fifty or seventy-five years ago was better able to keep pace with the demands of communal life and possessed in addition the advantage of comparative freedom from the evils characteristic of congested cities. Now the situation is entirely changed, and the small town because of its lack of resources is unable to compete with city improvements. When measured in terms of public utilities and institutions established for the well-being of the people, the gulf between the small town and the large city is wider than ever

before. Entirely apart from its lack of sufficient economic opportunities for its citizens, the small community gives an impression of inadequacy that is disheartening to those who wish to enjoy the fruits of modern progress.

The evidence gained through the community studies included in this volume points inescapably to the fact that leadership is passing to the city to a larger extent than was true in the past, and that the small community is becoming more and more the seat of conservatism where social change meets its strongest opposition. This declining rôle of the small community may be regarded as an inevitable result of competition with large population centers which are able through their greater resources to meet more fully the demands of modern civilization. The following brief picture of a small town located in a rich agricultural section of the South is fairly typical of the situation which thousands of such communities are facing at the present time: [1]

The farm village of M— with a population of approximately 1,000 people, contains no industries and its business interests are largely limited to a few small stores and other establishments that cater to the needs of the surrounding farm territory. Many of its leading citizens are either retired farmers or are men who operate farms near by and maintain their homes in the village. For many years the village has made no appreciable increase in size, and the people seem content with its present status. Most of the land in the village is owned by a few well-to-do families who decline to sell any of the property to outsiders. A few years ago a capitalist from a neighboring city became interested in establishing a textile mill in the village. At first his plan was received with enthusiasm, but in the end the more conservative people managed to defeat the project.

[1] All illustrative material used in this chapter is taken from unpublished community studies.

The conservative spirit that dominates the village has held back the development of civic improvements. Electric lights were installed only a year ago. No interest in adequate school facilities was apparent until a neighboring town put up a modern school building. Stung by this effort of their rivals to outdo them, the people of the village immediately appropriated funds for a building that far surpassed that of their neighbors. There is money available for other improvements but there seems to be no interest in making the village attractive. The village has no water system and the people will not tolerate any suggestions looking toward securing running water in their homes. There is no sentiment in favor of providing recreational facilities for the young people. The inadequately equipped moving picture theater is severely criticized by the church leaders and the usual types of amusements are frowned upon as dangerous to morals.

With no new or expanding industries to provide employment, the village does not attract outsiders, and the more able of the younger generation are establishing themselves elsewhere. Nevertheless those in control of affairs seem well satisfied with present conditions and always line up against proposed improvements.

Community Growth and Maladjustment. However unfortunate we may regard the small community of stunted growth, the maladjustments of rapidly growing cities present a much more serious and complicated problem. The overwhelming urban trend of recent years would have strained the capacity of even the best-planned city, efficiently organized to look after the varied interests of its rapidly growing population. The city of 10,000 may confidently have expected to become a city of 50,000, but adequate plans looking toward its orderly growth and development were rarely made. The growing pains of large communities are plainly evident on every hand in spite of the effort to keep in the foreground their eco-

nomic prosperity. When judged from the point of view of community structure, many cities present the appearance of overgrown villages. With their narrow streets, cramped business section, improperly located industries, lack of space for parks and playgrounds, inadequately zoned residence sections, and scattered public buildings with no thought of a well-planned civic center, they have burdened themselves with structural handicaps that perhaps never can be fully overcome.

It is in the field of social organization, however, that the maladjustments that accompany rapid growth arouse deepest concern. The expansion of our urban communities has come about for the most part through the building up of industries which have required a constant stream of people to furnish their labor supply. In the attempt to assimilate this horde of newcomers, the institutions of the community find themselves strained to the breaking point. The former means of social control prove inadequate. Old traditions are swept aside before new standards can gain wide acceptance. Organizations established to meet the needs of the growing population find difficulty in adapting themselves to the changing situation. The heterogeneous elements that have become a part of the community make unity of action difficult and thereby prevent the social, political, educational, and religious institutions from keeping pace with industrial growth. This is especially evident in those industrial centers where the opportunities for employment have brought together in large numbers people of different races and nationalities. Their heritage of customs and beliefs and language brought from other countries set them apart from the older residents and lead to social and economic disabilities which hold back their assimilation into community life. Out of this conflict of cultures

and classes in this hard struggle for existence arise the plague spots of our cities with their congestion, bad housing, poverty, and crime.

Urbanization of a Village. Disorganization of this kind, it is true, is found elsewhere even in more stabilized communities, but the rapidly expanding urban center provides the most fertile soil for its complete growth. The constant mobility and change characteristic of the growing city intensify the evil effects of maladjustment and place almost insuperable obstacles in the way of bringing about an adequate cure. In the description, which follows, of the transformation of a middle-western village from a high class residential suburb to an important community in a great city, there can be seen the breakdown of community solidarity and the increasing struggle between conflicting forces which accompanied its rapid population growth.

The community of H—, now located in the heart of a great city, was established in 1856 seven miles from the small trading center of which it later was to become a part. From the start, this community was settled by substantial people of the Protestant faith. It had a slow but steady growth and in 1872 it was incorporated as a village with a population of 3,000 people. Improvements such as street paving, street lighting, water works, and a larger school were secured. The people took pride in providing the best education possible for their children. By 1874, the community had a reputation as a center of culture, the suburban home of leaders in business and professional life of the near-by city. A strong law enforcement association secured local option for the community and was effective in prohibiting gambling and commercialized vice.

During the next decade large industrial plants were located a few miles south of the village, still further from the city which in the meantime had been growing rapidly in this direction. Rapid train service attracted more residents to the

village, nearly all of whom were well-to-do people desirous of finding a congenial home in a high class suburb.

A few years later there was a strong demand on the part of the new industrial communities on the south for annexation to the city which had already become one of the chief commercial and industrial centers in the country. The village of H— preferred to remain independent, for the people felt that the loss of local autonomy would mean a reduction of standards in their school system as well as other disadvantages. The vote of the large industrial communities, however, quite overwhelmed the negative vote of the village and consequently it was absorbed into the life of a great city. At the time of its annexation this community was almost homogeneous in its political, social, and cultural aspects. There was a strong community consciousness and a sense of community responsibility that expressed itself in support of local institutions and material improvements. The village had a negligible amount of poverty and was comparatively free from troublesome social problems.

In 1890 the managers of a great industrial exposition decided to locate it on territory adjoining and in part penetrating into the former village area. Building operations began at once on a large scale. In addition to the exposition buildings, scores of hotels and apartment buildings, the first in the community, were erected. Shops were built along one street for the distance of a mile. The exposition brought in not only thousands of visitors, but many hundreds of families of workmen, small shop keepers, Negroes, and foreigners. After the exposition, many of these families remained, some as small home owners, others as tenants in the apartments. The oversupply of housing facilities led to the reduction of rents, indiscriminate renting to all classes of people, and the consequent invasion of the community by large numbers of people of much lower social and economic status than the original inhabitants of the village.

Records indicate that as early as 1900 juvenile delinquency had become a serious problem. The chief offenders were the children of families resident in the apartments above the stores

along the new business street. Many of these buildings were overcrowded and there was no play space for the children except the streets and a few vacant lots. A half dozen poolrooms of ill repute, a heritage from exposition days, served as hangouts for the older boys. Gangs of boys with criminal tendencies began to make trouble with their petty thieving.

The homogeneity of the community was broken up by the coming in of different nationalities, especially the Irish, Germans, and Jews. The wide difference in social classes was also a new thing for the community and proved to be a disturbing factor. The community had not equipped itself to deal adequately with social problems and the adjustment to the new conditions was not easy. The rapid growth of the city of which this community was forced to become a part profoundly changed the nature of this high class residential section and involved it in problems which are yet far from being solved.

Segregation Within Communities. When a community is subjected to close scrutiny, it is found to be divided into neighborhoods of more or less definitely fixed geographical divisions, each possessing traits and characteristics of its own. Sometimes these community subdivisions are plainly set apart by natural or artificial boundaries such as a river, hill, or railroad; in other cases they may merge into each other so imperceptibly that the actual dividing line is known only to those residing in that locality. This process of segregation is ordinarily regarded as a phenomenon of urbanization, especially characteristic of large industrial centers where are found people of various races and nationalities as well as widely different social and economic groups. This study of many small communities reveals the universality of this trend toward segregation even in villages where the small and apparently homogeneous population would seem to make unimportant any divisions on a geographical basis. A southern cotton mill village composed of forty

or fifty families living in company-owned houses of similar outward appearance will have its best residential street and its more undesirable sections. Although all the people are of native American stock and are approximately on the same social and economic level, those most influential and ambitious as well as congenial tend to build up their own neighborhood and keep out those whom they regard as inferior or at least unsuited for their social circle. The small Negro quarter in a town, when carefully studied, is found to be a miniature community of its own with its various well-recognized areas sharply distinguished by shades of color and economic status of their residents.

This process of segregation is of profound significance, for it tends to draw together those who belong to the same social and economic strata, or racial and national groups, and thereby gives them a unity and common feeling that they otherwise might not possess. From one point of view economic differences form the fundamental basis for segregation, since it is economic necessity that drives people into localities where land values and rents come within their means. While social classes and racial differences are also powerful forces that make for segregation, it is doubtful whether these forces would be widely effective in accomplishing this result if they were not usually so intimately correlated with economic status. As for other factors that tend to divide people into groups, such as political, religious, and intellectual differences, these do not ordinarily cut deep enough to become a basis for segregation. Even when occupational segregation takes place, as in a university faculty community, or a cotton mill community, it rests essentially upon social and economic distinctions.

When, as it sometimes happens, areas of segregation are set off in a marked manner by physical barriers, their

peculiar characteristics stand out much more clearly and tend to be magnified in importance, thus dividing a community into more or less hostile and self-conscious units that will not readily coöperate for the common good. The unfortunate effects of segregation, however, are usually minimized by group relationships that cut across neighborhood lines. Community churches, public schools, lodges and organizations that are community-wide in their scope, make possible wider contacts irrespective of location of residence and facilitate the development of a wider community consciousness.

The southern city of A— with a population of about 13,000 provides a good illustration of segregation characteristic of American cities. This city, which is the seat of a University, has at least half a dozen distinct residential sections in addition to the several districts assigned to the Negroes.

First in importance is the university community composed of faculty members and their families, people who keep rooming and boarding houses for students, fraternities, and a few wealthy and retired business people who associate with the faculty group. A few local stores, a bank, and a postoffice cater to the needs of this community which is quite detached from the rest of the city although an integral part of it.

The high class residential section for the townspeople is located in the northeastern portion of the city. On Chestnut, Walnut, and Oak streets are found the homes of the wealthy business and professional men who have built large houses surrounded by unusually attractive and spacious grounds. Only people of large means can afford to live on these streets, but this exclusive section is hemmed in on all sides by closely built smaller and less attractive houses where reside people with much smaller incomes who desire to enjoy as far as possible the advantages of a high class residential neighborhood.

On the southwest side of the city is another larger residential development where have been drawn together the small

salaried and professional men of modest means who take pride in owning their own homes. The prevalent type of dwelling is the cottage or bungalow. Artisans or manual laborers of any kind are not found here, or if at all, only on the extreme edges of this neighborhood where property is much lower in value.

There is very little commingling of the people of these three residential sections except that they do attend the same churches. To a large degree social intercourse is limited to associations within each geographical district. This condition of segregation is reflected in the central high school students who are inclined to group themselves according to the residential districts in which their parents live. Competition between the high school students for class and club officers, magazine editors, etc., is carried out largely on this basis.

For the industrial part of the population there are three distinct neighborhoods and a small village just outside the city limits. One of these called Pemberton lies on the southern side of the city along the Southern railway. Its residents comprise employees of this railway and artisans and laborers who work in various places throughout the city. This neighborhood has its own churches and little stores. Cut off from any other white residential section by a Negro district, the people seldom go outside their neighborhood except for employment, shopping in the down town stores, and attending shows.

Mars Hill is located on the opposite side of the city along the tracks of the same railway. Here are also found the working class of people most of whom are employed in a near-by silk mill, brick plant, creamery, and lumber mill. The neighborhood maintains one church and the usual small stores and other establishments to supply the ordinary needs of the people. A few of the more prosperous and more ambitious people in this neighborhood attend down town churches and participate in social activities elsewhere in the city.

On the southeastern side of the city in the vicinity of the shops and roundhouse of the Great Eastern Railway, is found the third industrial neighborhood locally known as Dublin. A large portion of its people are employed by this railway com-

pany. Others find employment with an extract plant, a lumber mill, two flour mills, an ice plant, and a creamery. There is one church in Dublin and a small public park. Since this part of the city has a good elevation and possesses natural features that would make it a desirable residential section, a few people of the "salaried class" have built substantial houses on land just adjacent to Dublin and are endeavoring to develop a neighborhood of their own.

A large woolen mill located just outside the city limits has built up a complete village for its own employees who are thereby cut off almost entirely from convenient association with the other industrial workers.

The public elementary schools form the chief means of bringing the children of these various neighborhoods together, but as yet have not succeeded in welding them into a congenial group. The boys in each industrial section tend to run in gangs which are at continual warfare with other gangs. The few children of the industrial population who attend high school are excluded from the social affairs of the other high school students. This group feeling on the part of the children is simply a reflection of the attitudes of their parents and is a clear indication of the strength of the barriers that are keeping the people apart.

Conservatism and Disorganization. Even a cursory knowledge of communities reveals the close correlation between disorganization and the forces of conservatism. This relationship is most clearly apparent in the small village where the traditions as well as the vested interests of the older generation prevent the normal adjustment of institutions to changing conditions and thereby weaken their efficiency as agencies of control. While this conflict between the old and the new is an essential phase of the process of adjustment, in the small community the forces of conservatism so completely dominate the situation that there are small chances of this struggle leading

to community improvement. On the contrary, the net result of this conflict is frequently further disorganization and the driving out of the community those most capable of progressive leadership. The attitudes of the people toward recreational and moral questions in the village of D— furnish a good illustration of the sway of conservatism in many small communities to-day.

In this rural village community of the Middle West, custom decrees the kind of recreation in which the people may participate. One of the main diversions of the winter months is the so-called play party the chief feature of which is old-fashioned games such as Swing Josie, Old Brass Wagon, and others of like nature. No respectable girl in the community would dare participate in square dances although the differences between the latter and the play party games are extremely slight.

Without the least criticism any one may play Flinch, Rook, and Dominoes, but it would be a great breach of custom to play any game with regular playing cards. The taboo which religious custom and tradition have placed on the playing cards has kept them out of the community although every one knows that all the card games are much alike in principle no matter what kind of cards are used.

Bobbed hair is rare even among the teen age girls and not permissible for the older women at all. Evening dresses are never seen except on the stage when amateur dramatic entertainments are given, and even there they cause quite a lot of comment. It is in perfect taste to wear to church in the morning a dress of delicate shade of silk designed especially for afternoon wear. Bathing suits are permissible, if worn in appropriate places, but girls' knickerbocker hiking suits would not be allowed no matter what kind of a trip a girl was planning to make. Married women are expected to wear their dresses longer than do single women of their age.

The double standard of morals for men and women is very marked in this community. Smoking is permissible for men

but not for women. A man may drink to excess and be immoral, but if he reforms in his late twenties or even in the thirties he may become one of the community's influential and leading citizens. Not so with a girl. No matter how young and inexperienced she may be, if she makes but one misstep, she has a blot on her name from which she can never escape as long as she remains in the community.

A South-western Example. In the Texas town of L— the church has been the leading force in maintaining the traditional attitudes toward recreation. The young people, however, are revolting against this control, and largely through their influence more liberal attitudes are coming into vogue.

When it became known that there would be built a swimming pool as a private enterprise just outside the limits of the town of L—, the whole community immediately began to discuss the propriety of such an undertaking. The Methodist preacher devoted a Sunday evening's sermon to this project, condemning it as the greatest social calamity that had come to the town in years. He pictured in vivid language the moral corruption that would breed in this "agency of the devil," and warned his members to keep themselves and their children away from the place. A similar sentiment was created in a lesser degree in some of the other churches of the town. The leading Baptist minister, however, to the surprise of many, took a more tolerant view of the matter. While he declined to make any public statement to his congregation concerning the controversy, he allowed himself to be quoted to the effect that there would be no moral wrong in patronizing the swimming pool if the bathers were properly chaperoned and sufficiently clad.

A few of the "worldly" and more bold church members had already followed the "sinners" out to the pool from the first. More and more the people of the town ventured timidly, then more boldly, and finally freely out to the pool, until much of

the moral stigma attached to its use was removed. There are still some of the conservative church people who are convinced that the swimming pool is a moral evil. They speak doubtfully regarding the wayward tendencies of "this worldly generation."

But this conservative attitude toward worldly amusements is undergoing a change. The domino game known as "forty two," which had long been secretly enjoyed by the more worldly church people was given better status by the rumor that the Dean of the college, an ordained minister, had attended a "forty two" party and played the game as late as ten-thirty at night. Later, a new presiding elder of the Methodist church went boldly to the local moving picture show to the horror of his subordinate, the local pastor, and to the joy of those timid souls who had long wished to "taste of the joys of this world."

Independent of these influences, however, the town as a whole was beginning to revolt from the old extreme views on social pleasures. The World War, wider contacts with the outside world, and a more reckless younger generation, all doubtless play a part in explaining the changes that are taking place in the moral standards of the people. When the writer left this community recently, the young people were going boldly to dances regardless of protests by the church. Even the moving picture show had achieved sufficient standing to give a special program to which were invited the mothers' club, the ministers, and the religious workers. A carefully selected picture was shown and many of the spectators wept and called the picture a great sermon.

Another element that enters into the conservatism of small communities is the prominent place usually occupied by the older people in the management of local institutions. The county seat of R— is an example of a place that has suffered by too great domination by those advanced in years.

The growth of R— during the past ten years has been almost phenomenal. Yet in spite of its prosperity, its schools are little better than before this new growth began. The town has the same courthouse and jail that have been an eyesore in the town square for many years. Many of its streets still need paving, the business section of the town has but little improved in appearance, the people tolerate the same poorly edited newspaper, and progressive civic organizations can not find adequate support.

Apparently, one of the town's difficulties is its domination by old men. All the leading merchants who control most of the wealth of the town are men well advanced in years. The bank officials with a single exception are either bald or gray haired. The tobacco warehouse owners and managers have been old men for the past ten years. The same thing is true of the ministers in the town. The youngest member of the school board is pushing the fifties. The superintendent of the schools is a typical schoolmaster of the old school. The editor of the paper is a reactionary of reactionaries at least partly because of his advancing years. Where are the young and middle-aged progressives with qualities of leadership? Unfortunately they are not to be found. And here we find one of the important causes of R—'s civic backwardness.

Ill-balanced Urban Growth. The city, on the other hand, with its more rapid growth and mobility of its people gives an impression of freedom from conservatism which it only partially deserves. As soon as the city is subjected to close analysis, it becomes evident that the various phases of city life are not characterized by any orderly and consistent development. As a matter of fact there seems to be a tendency to compensate for progressiveness in one line by reactionary policies in other matters. The city that boasts about its school system may maintain prisons medieval in type and refuse to install business methods in city government. It is this failure of

the city to progress in accord with a consistent policy that leads to much confusion and disorganization. The different interests in the city seem to vary widely in the strength of their resistance to change. Incompetent leadership, ignorance of better methods, vested interests, the power of custom and tradition, are among the factors that retard adaptation to changing conditions in the city as well as in the small town and open country. One of the striking facts in American cities is the willingness to tolerate outworn methods alongside the most progressive measures of reform. The inconsistency in such procedure is accepted as a matter of course, although it is apparent that this ill-assorted progress is a prolific cause of disorganization.

During the fifty years of its history as a southern industrial center, the city of H— has acquired a population of 50,000, a large majority of whom are employees of its numerous tobacco factories and cotton mills. Through these industries the city has attained great wealth and consequently money is available for improvements in which the people are interested. Nevertheless, in spite of its abundance of wealth and leaders, the city has not yet embarked on a well-balanced program of municipal progress.

About seven years ago the city manager plan of government was adopted which for the first time brought efficiency into the control of municipal affairs and saved the city hundreds of thousands of dollars. The county, however, still administers its affairs under the old political spoils system although H— easily holds the balance of power in the county and could insist upon a reform in county administration.

In public health administration the city takes great pride and has made considerable progress. An excellent private hospital has been built in which the city maintains free wards for charity patients. High professional standards are insisted upon in the administration both of the hospital and of the

public health work. The city government, however, has as yet failed to extend its water mains and sewers along all the streets. Considerable sections of the city still contain open wells and unsanitary privies. Many of the industrial workers live in dilapidated houses under conditions of congestion detrimental to health. Along one of the main thoroughfares there are no sidewalks for a considerable distance in the vicinity of a school, thus endangering the lives of the children who are forced to walk in the street. The main streets are paved but many of the side streets become almost impassable in the winter with mud and in the dry summer the dust is a menace to health.

In dealing with social problems there is no insistence on professional standards either in the public or private social agencies. Properly qualified social workers are rarely employed. Doles are handed out to the poor with no constructive efforts to bring about their rehabilitation. There are no playgrounds operated the year round with competent leaders in charge. A community chest which was established a few years ago was discontinued because of lack of public interest and support.

The public school system on the other hand is highly efficient and well supported. Competent teachers are employed, the school buildings are well equipped in every way, and the school attendance laws are strictly enforced. This educational interest, however, does not extend far enough to make possible a good library. The building used for this purpose is very inadequate and the available funds are insufficient to employ either a full-time librarian or to purchase a good collection of books.

From the point of view of city planning the city has grown up in an ill-balanced way and presents a very unattractive appearance. The streets are exceedingly narrow and no sentiment can be aroused in favor of widening them. The railways run through the middle of the city and the factory districts encroach on the retail business section. No provision has been

made for parks. Public buildings are scattered with no attempt to build up a civic center.

The churches of the city while conservative in doctrine are well equipped and receive adequate public support. The Association of Commerce has a competent staff who do much to promote the best interests of the city. The usual civic organizations are well organized and apparently are very influential in promoting many measures of reform. But in spite of all that has been accomplished through the efforts of its leaders, the city in many of its aspects seems dominated by a spirit of conservatism which makes it impossible to build up all its institutions in a satisfactory manner.

Religious Rivalry and Disorganization. The sectarian spirit that dominated American religious life especially during the early history of this country has made inevitable religious conflicts which in many places have brought a severe strain upon community unity. Even before the supremacy of the original Protestant groups was threatened by the later invasion of Jews and Catholics from southern and eastern Europe, the various sects within the Protestant church took their differences in belief and methods of worship so seriously that they were often divided into warring camps. Remnants of this type of religious conflict can be seen to-day in many small towns and rural communities, especially in the south and southwest where Protestantism still retains much of its earlier sectarian spirit.

In those sections of the country where the Catholics and Jews have become sufficiently numerous to challenge the traditional power of the Protestants, religious differences sometimes loom up as a divisive force destructive of community unity. The fears and jealousies that have grown out of this conflict have frequently remained under cover, something to be gossiped about

but not to be discussed openly by the newspaper press. Whole communities have been torn by a political conflict in which the fundamental issue was religious, yet with little outward evidence of the real nature of the motives behind the struggle of the opposing forces. In other places, especially since the World War, the opposition to Catholics and Jews has found expression in the Ku Klux Klan, an organization that thrived upon bigotry and intolerance. Recently, this organization has decreased in influence and it is doubtful whether it can ever regain its former hold upon those classes that gave it loyal support. There is every evidence of a decline of interest in those aspects of religion that have to do with doctrinal and traditional differences. Protestant sectarianism has to a large degree been supplanted by a period of denominationalism characterized by a tolerance in religious matters that was rarely found fifty years ago. Even the more deep-seated differences that separate widely variant religious groups such as the Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, arouse much less bitterness and feeling of unlikeness than in the recent past. The new generation that is now growing up cannot escape entirely their heritage of religious jealousies and rivalries, but it is clear that these things will play a minor rôle in inter-group conflicts of the future. The following two cases illustrate the rivalry which still exists between Protestant denominations in certain sections of this country.

a. In the town of J— strong rivalry exists between the Methodist and Baptist churches. During the Baptist revival meeting a few years ago, the Baptist minister paid a visit to the public school and invited all the children to go on a picnic. He also attempted to organize a junior choir for his meeting without paying much attention to denominational lines. To

the Methodist minister, this seemed to be a brazen effort to entice the Methodist children from their own church, and in a sermon to his congregation he brought the charge of proselyting against the energetic Baptist minister. Many of the Methodists took the matter seriously and the relations between the two churches became more strained than ever.

This religious conflict has also made its influence felt in the public school system. Each church vies with the other to get the most members on the school board in order to be able to control the appointment of the superintendent and teachers. For a number of years the Methodists controlled the situation and the majority of the teachers were Methodists. Recently the Baptists have gained control. The superintendent appointed by the Baptists is already under severe criticism and his religious opponents are working to install a new régime as soon as his term of office has expired.

b. For the white portion of the population of the town of S— there are five Protestant churches. Formerly the strong sectarian spirit divided the churches into hostile groups, but in recent years a plan for maintaining the balance of power has been worked out and as a result the community is no longer torn by religious factions. In school affairs, for example, the five churches must be represented on the school board and the teachers must be pro-rated according to the relative strength of the different denominations. The church that gets the superintendent must not have its full quota of teachers. If for some reason one church secures more than its share of teachers during one year, it must be content with less than its quota at the next election of teachers. A similar agreement also operates in politics. Town offices must be passed around among the different denominations, for no church is supposed to furnish continuously the mayor or marshal or have more than its share of the board of aldermen.

The Ku Klux Klan and Conflict. A much more serious situation arises when an organization like the Ku Klux Klan stirs up religious conflict in a community.

Westville, a small manufacturing city of about 20,000 population, became involved a few years ago in a troublesome religious fight led by the Ku Klux Klan. The Catholics, who were in the minority, and belonged for the most part to immigrant groups, were much criticized because they insisted on maintaining their own parochial schools. The undercurrent of antagonism between the Protestants and Catholics broke forth with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, for that organization naturally intensified the hostile feelings already present.

Following the organization of the Ku Klux Klan, the whole city became on fire with excitement and soon four distinct factions were formed. First, the Ku Klux supporters, who eagerly joined the organization and felt themselves "divinely destined" to save America from the Catholic scourge; second, the Protestant anti-Ku Kluxers who felt that this was only a mania instigated by morons and emotional fanatics; third, those who maintained an attitude of indifference to the whole matter and refused to have any part in it; and, finally the Catholics themselves.

Parades and anti-parades became the order of the day. The Ku Kluxers held frequent meetings in a vacant field on the north side of the city. Masked guides regularly pointed the way. Police were stationed everywhere to prevent outbreaks of violence. A fiery cross frequently burned upon the lawn of some prominent anti-Klansman, once to warn a Catholic merchant that he would not "walk in pools of Protestant blood in Westville," as the radicals claimed he had boasted he would do; and again to show the superintendent of schools that his attitude must be changed in order to gain their favor. The superintendent's offense had been his unwillingness to sanction a Ku Klux meeting in the school auditorium, which was to be addressed by a sensational ex-nun. The Klansmen said he was "yellow" and had cowardly yielded to the Catholic threat of violence if the meeting were held there. The ex-nun and her followers had to hold their much advertised meeting in the Salvation Army headquarters.

Much of this fight centered in the effort of the Klansmen to

get control of the school. After a close contest this organization succeeded in electing one of its leaders as member of the school board which made the superintendent's position much more precarious. In spite of this situation the superintendent refused to attempt to gain the good will of the Klan by discharging a Catholic girl who was a member of his high school teaching staff. The entire high school was demoralized by the Klan issue which divided the students into two hostile religious groups.

One church in the city, the Central Baptist, stood out as the champion of the Ku Klux Klan. The minister, who was a man of fads and sensational eloquence, became the exponent of Klan ideals and achievements. On Sundays the church was crowded to the steps, not even standing room remaining. Members of other churches deserted their accustomed places of worship in order to join this church and aid the Klan movement. Sensational subjects for sermons rivaled any Sunday movie. Jealousy and rivalry became rampant. Klansmen from other towns came to this church in uniform to pay their respects to their champion. Stories circulated through the town about the supposed atrocities of the priests until many Protestant church circles deteriorated into gossiping devices for the circulation of Ku Klux propaganda.

Finally, after one year of turmoil, the influence of the Ku Klux Klan began to wane. Hostile feelings between the leaders of the two groups gradually subsided or at least became quiescent. When the Ku Klux Klan disappeared as an organization, religious propaganda against the Catholics ceased to be broadcast in an open manner. To-day there is no outward evidence of religious antagonism in the city, but attitudes of distrust and suspicion still remain which many people think will flare up again as soon as a suitable occasion arises.

Social Classes as Divisive Forces. The atmosphere in America has not been congenial to social stratification. The barriers that separate social classes within a community are with few exceptions not supposed to be fixed and

impassable. The American people take great pride in pointing out the ease with which one may pass from one stratum of society to another. Rigid social classes from which there is no escape are foreign to American democratic ideals.

Nevertheless, social stratification as it is found in American communities is a force which cannot be ignored. While ordinarily it may serve simply as a device for the congenial association of people with a similar outlook on life, it very easily becomes a divisive force that splits communities into separate if not hostile factions. This stratification is seen in its most extreme form where there are differences of race and nationality. The color line is a gulf that can not be crossed in this country. The Negro and the Oriental are cut off so completely from participation on equal terms with the dominant race in community affairs that they can be thought of as belonging to a different world. The various immigrant groups from Europe also form separate classes of their own from which there seems to be no easy escape, at least for those of the first generation. The racial and national groups wherever found in American communities are forced to remain in a social circle of their own and are segregated as far as possible in the most undesirable localities.

But apart from this type of social stratification in which race prejudice plays the major rôle, social and economic status, uncomplicated by racial differences, frequently becomes a highly disorganizing factor in community life. Especially is this true in manufacturing centers where the factory workers are regarded as belonging to the lower social and economic classes with characteristics and traits of their own. If low wages, bad working conditions, long hours of labor, and insecurity of employment enter into this situation, those affected by these conditions are forced

into a lower status, thus widening the gulf between them and the other members of the larger community. In planning community undertakings, the working classes are rarely thought to be of sufficient importance to warrant inviting them to share in the deliberations of the leaders. It is apparently assumed that they do not exist, or rather that they belong to a different world of interest and activity. Under such circumstances community programs may be adopted by the dominant classes but it is futile to talk of attaining community solidarity.

Cliques and Factions. A no less disturbing situation is found when we turn our attention to the higher social classes. Here we find few clear-cut social divisions, but many cliques, each striving to gain precedence over the other. Since it is usually in this stratum of society that the leaders are found, it becomes a very difficult matter to build up a community organization in which all factions will be properly represented and offense given to none. In some communities the balance of power between rival social factions is so carefully adjusted that the inauguration of new enterprises disturbs the status quo and produces difficulties that can hardly be overcome. Perhaps it is the very lack of permanent status of social classes that intensifies the factional spirit and jealousies so detrimental to unity of action in community affairs.

On the whole, however, the various social circles found in town and city communities are not as strong a divisive force as their differences would lead us to suspect. It is surprising how quickly people who vary widely in social and economic status may be welded together in support of a common undertaking when an emergency arises. This was notably true in the late war and in a lesser measure is true of many communities to-day. Social classes, whether for good or for ill, are an inevitable as-

pect of community life and need not be regarded as a highly disorganizing force except in situations where race prejudice or economic conflict plays an important part. The five illustrations which follow give a picture of some of the varying degrees of social stratification characteristic of American communities.

a. There is a conflict in the town of P— between the old established families and many of the newcomers. Some of these new arrivals from the country are people of means but lack the cultural background necessary for acceptance into the established circles. These new people did not go to college, their fathers did not own slaves, and they did not grow up with the town; therefore they are not acceptable to the élite. Their failure to be received socially has created bitterness which asserts itself on many occasions.

This discrimination against the newcomers is by no means retarding their advancement. Their most able women have organized social and civic clubs that are much more vigorous and influential than the older clubs of the aristocracy. Their political leaders hold the balance of power in the town and often use it to the disadvantage of the old vested interests. This summer an elderly lady said to me, "A lot of these country Jakes with a little money come to town and when they cannot get into our set they outvote us and run the entire community."

b. One of the difficulties in G— is the strong insistence upon class distinctions. Certain of the old families have been living in the community for generations and still persist in holding themselves aloof from other families whose wealth, education, and culture would give them a right to associate with the best people. There is the case of a highly respected and well-to-do family whose daughter attends many of the social functions among the younger set. Because this young woman's great-grandfather was an overseer on the plantation of one of the town's best families in the days before the Civil War, certain

young men of the more exclusive set are not permitted to call upon her or to take her to any dances.

The people who reside on N street have a social hierarchy of their own, and in fact are well-to-do business and professional people. The old aristocracy, however, who live a short distance away will have nothing to do with them. Thus far the members of these old, exclusive families still manage to hold the more important public offices, and are the leaders in the churches and other organizations of influence in the town. Those who live across the river in the cheaper houses of that section belong to the lowest social circle and are looked down upon by those who live in the better residential neighborhoods.

While the different social circles in the town are not hostile to one another, it is almost impossible to get them to coöperate in any community undertaking. Community mass meetings are a failure, for the people prefer to attend meetings limited to those who are accustomed to associate together.

c. The Jewish population of R— is distinctly divided into three groups according to shades of religious differences. These groups are the Orthodox, the Conservatives, and the Reformed Jews. Each group has its peculiar characteristics. The Orthodox Jews are extremely conservative, the poorest financially, are usually of foreign birth, and have but few deep interests outside of religion. The Conservatives are the newly rich, more emancipated yet still retaining a number of the older religious customs, and taking an active interest in social and civic problems. The Reformed Jews are almost entirely German Jews, are usually the richest element in the Jewish population, mingle as freely with the Gentiles as with the Jews, and take their religion rather light-heartedly. This threefold cleavage does not manifest itself in open conflict but rather in a passive refusal of one group to enter into the activities of the other. It has made extremely difficult the establishment and continued support of a Jewish community center in the city.

d. It is a curious fact that the foreign population in Y— keep strictly within the boundaries of their colony and make no effort to get acquainted with their American neighbors. It

is only just to state that the Americans avoid making contacts with the foreign groups. These foreigners live in an unimproved suburb officially known as Lowmandale but better known as "Hunkytown." Many nationalities are represented in this colony, Hungarians, Roumanians, Poles, Austrians, Lithuanians, Russians, and Italians. They work in the factories near by, chiefly in the tile factory, the file works, and the rod mill. They have their own grocery stores but come down town to purchase other supplies in the cheaper department stores. At other times they seldom appear on the streets except when coming to early mass at the Catholic church. It is needless to say that they do not participate in the social life of the city.

e. In the town of J— there is no race problem, at least from the point of view of the white section of the community. The Negroes know their place and keep it without protest. They live for the most part in dilapidated houses along the railroad where are located also their school and two churches. Their women find employment as servants in the homes of the white folks and accept uncomplainingly the low wages paid for their services. The men seem to work or loaf as the fancy strikes them. Occasionally a Negro preacher will ask the "white parson" to preach in his church or will seek from him aid in sermonizing. It is not uncommon for a Negro to ask aid of a white man in some business transaction. On the whole, the two races do not come in contact with each other very closely and the average white man knows little of the Negro's welfare. As a consequence, for a long time the Negro school was in a most dilapidated state. Only when a new superintendent of schools came into the town and exposed the situation as unjustifiable did the school board seem to awake to the realization that there was a Negro school in their midst to be provided for.

While the Negroes live in this town they are not a part of it. They do not vote, hold no offices, and do not participate in civic affairs. Since all but a few are in poverty, they do not exert any economic influence. Through long habit and necessity they continue to play their minor rôle in the community

with little or no outward evidence that they would have it otherwise. The white folks, therefore, feel very complacent about the situation and are even inclined to boast to outsiders about the good bunch of "niggers" they have in their town.

Conflicts Between Dominant Personalities. The prominent rôle of leadership in community development can hardly be overemphasized. The nature of the community, its characteristics and achievements can to a very considerable degree be traced to the quality and activities of its influential people. A community that possesses capable leaders who manage to work together with a minimum of disagreement has a great advantage over a community where clashes between dominant personalities are a frequent occurrence. Students of community problems are constantly reminded of the large amount of disorganization for which personal rivalries and conflicts are more or less directly responsible.

While these clashes between ambitious leaders frequently disrupt communities, this result occurs only when the people themselves are drawn into the struggle and line up in support of rival factions. There is no doubt but that the tendency to transform personal feuds into community fights varies widely in different places. The reason why some communities become more readily involved in these factional disturbances is not easy to explain. It may be that certain types of personality more readily invoke a following, certain issues may more easily stir up jealousies and animosities, or through long habit and tradition the people of a community may be strongly inclined toward factionalism.

The most unfortunate type of factional conflict is that which grows out of purely personal rivalries and disagreements not closely associated with community issues. This

can be seen best in the feuds between rival individuals and families in isolated mountain communities, or in the rivalry between the owners of two banks both of whom are striving for control of the community's financial affairs. In such cases the community has nothing to gain by being drawn into the conflict, which, because of its personal nature, is likely to be characterized by a great deal of bitterness and ill feeling.

When these conflicts between leaders are associated with important community matters such as political issues, school problems, or the promotion of community improvements, the lining up of followers is an encouraging sign for it is the first step toward reaching a decision concerning matters of importance to the community. Nevertheless, especially in small communities where relationships are largely on a personal basis, these struggles between contending policies tend to be viewed in terms of the personalities of the rival leaders with too little attention to the facts involved in the issues at stake. This becomes frequently true in the field of politics, in cities as well as in small communities, where political aspirants acquire skill in convincing the public that their personal ambitions are intimately bound up with the best interests of all the people. In this as well as in other fields of activity, community leaders may be quite sincere in their advocacy of certain policies and entirely unaware that their personal ambitions are bringing about unnecessary clashes of interest detrimental to community solidarity.

Leadership Conflicts. Where leadership is capable of adjusting itself to changing conditions and is not embittered by long and painful struggles, organization rather than disorganization is the final outcome of these conflicts between the dominant personalities in the community. Unfortunately, it is only too common for causes

to become bound up with uncompromising leaders incapable of acknowledging defeat, whose activities, ostensibly for the common good, bring little else to the community but further disorganization. The three instances given below may be regarded as fairly typical of leadership conflicts frequently found in small towns and rural communities.

a. There is an intense rivalry and hatred between the editors of the two local papers which indicates a certain decay descending upon the town. As both papers are Democratic and politics run by the same machine from year to year furnish no real controversial news, they have seemingly adopted the policy of disagreeing upon all other issues that arise. In the trouble with the Community House, one paper actively supported the institution not from any interest in social work but because the other was leading the opposition. It is of common occurrence to see one paper referred to by the other as that "scurrilous" sheet. Since both papers have considerable influence in the community, the constant bickerings between the editors tend to divide the people unnecessarily and make it exceedingly difficult for any undertaking to receive wide community support.

b. One of the factors that destroyed community unity in the town of S— was the intense business rivalry of two influential men, Mr. Brown and Mr. Graves. The two rival banks in the town were under the control of these men and each did everything in his power to line up the business interests in support of his banking institution. Both belonged to the Methodist church and when the time came to build a new church they divided the congregation on the question of selecting a new location. Mr. Brown wanted the church site to be in the residential section of the town where he lived, while Mr. Graves insisted that it be located farther down town near property which he owned. The latter finally won out by persuading an old man who was very wealthy to give a large sum to the

church on condition that the down town site be chosen. The entire church membership was split into two factions over this issue and it has taken years to heal the bitter feelings that were aroused. A similar difficulty arose when the location of the new school building came up for decision. The people formed into two factions led by the same men and a long struggle ensued before the matter was decided. The children of these two rivals have taken over the hostile attitudes of their fathers thus giving continued life to the old factional spirit.

c. The question of school consolidation which had been discussed for a long time finally divided the community into two opposing factions. The leaders of the two factions, Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Stone, although both stewards in the Methodist church, became bitter enemies and stopped at nothing in order to gain their ends. When the question came to a vote, Mr. Stone won out through the unexpected device of voting some Negroes. This was considered foul play but it was sufficient to defeat the plans for the consolidated school. After this controversy the Armstrongs and the Stones never spoke to each other. Mr. Armstrong and his wife transferred their memberships from the Methodist to the Baptist church and the feud continued until the death of Mr. Stone a few years later.

Constructive Aspects of Disorganization. From this analysis of the community in action, it becomes clear that disorganization presents itself in various guises and plays different rôles in the process of community change. To view it merely as a destructive force that carries deterioration inevitably in its wake is very inadequate as well as misleading. It should rather be thought of as a community force, full of possibilities for both good and ill, depending upon the nature of the situation with which it is concerned. Whether disorganization takes the form of a breakdown in community control or a conflict between groups with its resulting disunity, any effort to evaluate it must consider not merely the immediate confusion that

goes along with it, but its final effects on community development.

The disorganization that grows out of the multiplicity of divisions within a community is in itself nothing to be disturbed about. The large variety of group relationships that have become so common in this country has resulted in opening up new worlds of activity to people who otherwise would have no escape from narrowness and provincialism. To attempt to avoid the confusion that grows out of diversity by placing restrictions on the right to organize is unthinkable, for it would be a step backward into a rigid social order that would stultify individual initiative and retard normal progress. Disorganization of a destructive kind enters into such a situation only when these varied and unlike groups become suspicious, jealous, and intolerant of each other, or so self-centered and individualistic in their attitudes that they give no attention to their larger relation to the whole community.

Group conflict, also, may be regarded as a normal and salutary process, for adjustment to changing conditions involves calling into question existing ideas and policies and the formation of new groups designed to bring about the changes desired. Since the forces of conservatism that tend to resist change are so deep-seated and powerful, dissatisfaction with the status quo must ordinarily develop into the stage of conflict before the old gives way to the new. The disorganization which is a product of group conflict, is not detrimental to community welfare unless the conflict becomes personal and vindictive in character and is carried to such an extreme that stability is entirely destroyed.

Generally speaking, disorganization not only precedes reorganization but is an essential part of the process of adjustment which must go on continuously in any pro-

gressive society. The apparently inevitable tendency for our established agencies of control to become bound up with the past makes it necessary for their methods and policies to be called into question. The children who rebel against school attendance render a service by directing attention to the problem of building a better school. The young people who break away from the church hasten the day when religious organizations will reconstruct their tenets and methods in accord with the requirements of the modern world. The disorganization that accompanies this revolt against established rules and modes of behavior becomes dangerous only when it is so widespread that people begin to lose faith in the possibility of readjustment. One of the hopeful aspects of modern community life is the comparative ease and rapidity with which changes do occur. The point of chief significance in an evaluation of community institutions is not their ability to overcome disintegrating influences but rather their readiness to respond to changing conditions.

CHAPTER II

ENO MILLS: AN ECONOMICALLY SATURATED COMMUNITY

Introductory Note. During recent years the declining status of agricultural villages has been the subject of much comment. According to the last Federal census, approximately one-third of our American villages of less than 2,500 population have actually decreased in size, while the majority of the others have either remained stationary or suffered a serious reduction in their former rate of growth. This failure of the small towns and villages to maintain their earlier place of importance appears to be an inevitable result of modern industrial development. The surplus population has flowed irresistibly into the urban centers where constantly increasing opportunities for employment may be found.

Prior to this rapid urbanization movement, the towns that served as trade centers for the surrounding farming territory tended to grow in size and were able to absorb into their economic life those who desired to leave the country districts and become town residents. But during the past couple of decades the social and economic basis of the small town has suffered such serious encroachments that its status as a prosperous trade center has been almost entirely lost. Moreover, improved roads, better means of transportation, and more efficient schools have broken down the old provincial attitudes and created desires that the small town is ill equipped to satisfy. To-day in a far greater measure than ever before, the small popu-

lation centers have been forced into a losing competition with the more favorably situated city.

In this case study of Eno Mills there is presented a concrete picture of the rise and development of a representative agricultural trade center that apparently has very limited opportunities for further expansion. Its history is typical of that of hundreds of other small towns similarly located. At one period of its development it had its dreams of greatness which could not be realized because of economic limitations. Unable to compete successfully with its neighboring cities, it settled back into the rôle of the small town with all of its drabness, monotony, and disorganization.

The chief point of emphasis in this community analysis is concerned with the interplay of forces that determined the nature and trend of community life. From one point of view the history of small towns during the past fifty years may be regarded as a constantly increasing struggle of the younger generation for emancipation from the narrow outlook and intolerant spirit of these strongholds of conservatism. In Eno Mills this revolt against the arbitrary authority of community control made very little headway during the closing decades of the last century. The customs, traditions, and institutions of the community were accepted as a matter of course. However irksome community life became, only a few of the bolder spirits dared seek more congenial fields in the outside world.

While various factors led to the weakening of community control, the breakdown of the traditional prejudice against college education proved to be the entering wedge in the disruption of the old order. As soon as the young people got an adequate conception of the opportunities in the outside world, Eno Mills lost its power to control

arbitrarily their destiny. The fact that all of its college graduates have sought their business and professional opportunities elsewhere reveals the extent of their revolt against the restricted opportunities of their home community. In this exodus of the best-equipped young people can be seen both cause and effect of the growing disorganization of Eno Mills. The town had failed to measure up to their needs, and their going away lowered existing standards through the loss of their leadership, thus making further deterioration inevitable.

The religious conflict between the churches was apparently never carried to the point where it became a serious disorganizing factor. While the constant struggle of the church leaders to outdo their rivals brought about some bitter feelings, this conflict added zest to life and was probably a welcome relief from the dullness and monotony of village existence. Its chief significance in this community was the evidence it afforded of the restricted intellectual outlook of the people and their intolerant spirit during the period of early settlement.

It should be noted that there was no wide gulf between Eno Mills and the surrounding farming territory. The traditional conflict between town and country about which so much has been written was noticeably absent. As a matter of fact, it is a mistake to assume that this feeling of antagonism universally exists. In certain sections it has never been a prominent factor in intercommunity relationships and it constantly tends to play a decreasing rôle because of the greater mobility and wider contacts of the rural people.

One of the questions suggested by this story of Eno Mills is the relation between economic stagnation and social disorganization. The evidence seems to indicate that a town with no expanding business opportunities

exerts a depressing effect on the initiative of the people. In Eno Mills during the past decade there has been a failure to maintain the organized activities needed to make the town attractive and wholesome for the young people. If, as present trends indicate, many hundreds of small towns have reached their maximum point in economic development, it is a matter of great importance that their institutional life be adjusted to meet this stabilized situation.

Period of Pioneering and Early Settlement. Roughly speaking, three periods stand out in the history of Eno Mills: (1) the period of pioneering and settlement from about 1840 to 1890; (2) the period of expansion from 1890 to 1912; (3) the period of saturation and disorganization from 1912 to the present. The dates are only approximations; so for that matter are the classifications into periods. For it is not to be inferred that the first two periods were characterized by well-organized activities, the town never having been anything like a model community. The last ten or twelve years, however, have shown a tendency toward disorganization that stands in striking contrast to the rather negative situation in regard to community affairs in former years. The significance of this new tendency can be understood best by studying it in its proper relation to the history of the town.

Pioneers from the United States who pushed their way into northeast Texas, then Mexican territory, fought out the question of the ownership of the land with the Indians and settled down as farmers. Usually they established themselves for their mutual protection in small neighborhoods of two or three families, and by hard toil cleared and put under cultivation the fertile land upon which their existence depended.

After the close of the Mexican War, population flowed in more rapidly, and soon there were a few little towns or trading centers springing up in this section of the state. The completely independent, self-sufficient economy of the frontier farm began to give way before the opportunities for trade. One of the first evidences of this progress was the need for a mill to take the place of the clumsy Indian method of grinding corn which the settlers had practiced in their homes. One of the men of the neighborhood on Eno Creek, henceforth known as Miller Brown, built a little mill, and the community was enlarged by the outlying families who now faced that way for this simple service. But, in general, a family on Eno Creek was still a self-sustaining unit. Some cotton was raised, but transportation was so difficult that little was sent to market; just enough was raised for home spinning and weaving. Hogs, cows, garden and orchard furnished nearly all that was needed in order to live. Homemade candles furnished light, and flint was used for starting fires until the railroad made matches cheap and easy to obtain.

The early settlers were nearly all Southerners from the old states. Some were wealthy and brought their slaves to cultivate the rich black lands of Texas. Some had grown tired of slavery, had sold their old homes, and had set up anew in Texas. Others were adventurers or restless characters who liked to explore new lands. There were practically no Northerners or foreigners in this part of the state.

Gradually the increase in population and the material progress and prosperity in a fertile land led to the need for contacts with the "big towns" from twenty to forty miles away. Eno Mills was not on an early trade route, but regular stage and freight lines, which were soon es-

tablished, helped to increase these social and trade relationships. Certain commercial products, such as sugar, tobacco, ginghams, clothing and the like began to compete with the homemade product—or the substitute for it—that a frontier people supply for themselves. Thus it was possible for some one to build a store and the logical place, of course, was near the mill, where people already went. By the time of the Civil War, the community on the creek had five or six houses, and was designated as the Eno Mill settlement.

In those early days, there was no thought of trying to have organized schooling outside the colleges and academies. The latter were located far to the south in the older and more advanced portions of Texas. Educational needs were served very much as the religious ones were,—by private tutors who traveled about getting up classes in literature, music and etiquette for the girls and suitable subjects for the boys. It was not until after the Civil War that a school was established at Eno Mill, and no church building was erected prior to the completion of the railroad. The home of the preacher, or if he did not live in the community, that of some prominent member, served as the meeting place until there were enough people of one faith to build a church. In some instances these little church communities formed the nuclei for the towns, but in the case of Eno Mill the economic situation was the factor of greatest importance. The little water power determined the location of the mill, the mill that of the store and the store gave rise to a little agricultural trading center, really consisting, not of a town or community with organized activities so much as a group of houses in the midst of a farming country.

With the close of the Civil War there came a new influx of settlers. Hundreds of destitute Confederates

from the old states came to Texas where they could get a fresh start. The case of one such man is perhaps typical. With nothing but a few household articles, some mules and a wagon, he and his family arrived at the Eno Mill settlement. Procuring a hundred acres of land he set out to clear it. Back on his plantation in Mississippi he had owned fifty slaves, and many of them had followed him to Texas, promising to work for him if he would help them get a start. With their help the land was cleared, logs were hauled forty miles to a saw mill and the lumber hauled back for building. Thus did many families put themselves back on the road to independence and prosperity. Reconstruction did not strike these people as hard as it did those who remained in the old states. They were poor, it is true, but somehow they felt fairly confident of the future in this new land.

This migration and the normal increase in population soon doubled and trebled the size of the little settlement on Eno Creek. About 1885 the little village, after several experiences with the creek overflowing its banks, moved to higher ground about a mile away. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that the new settlement grew faster than the one on the creek. An additional store or two appeared to take care of the economic expansion. And here, perhaps, would have been the limit of the community's growth, if the railroad had not come along.

This first period in the development of Eno Mill, then, was little more than accidental. There was no organization to develop and further its growth. There was leadership, to be sure, but there was little need for organized activities, except in informal ways. Men helped each other with building and harvest, women held quilting bees, neighbors for miles around gathered for parties, entertainments, feasts, and church services. Everything

was conducted upon a democratic basis. And democracy was rather new to many of those who had so recently lost their power and prestige as plantation owners. Some of them retained vestiges of their old life,—one old gentleman from Mississippi, for instance, puzzled his small grandchildren by always putting on a certain coat for dinner, and by prizing so highly a cane he never carried. But in most matters these men accepted their lot and became real democrats. To them the people always looked for leadership, and the affairs of the community went on apparently with very little friction. Perhaps there was no time for it in the hard work of the farms. There was even little time for religious differences, for a church service was so rare that the people were glad to listen to any preacher regardless of his denomination.

Period of Expansion. In 1887 the main line of a railroad was projected for this section of the state. In making its way from one of the larger centers to another it touched as many towns, villages, and hamlets as possible. Eno Mill had been fortunate in its removal from the banks of the creek, for its new location lay on the route of the railway. Within a few years the town without any effort of its own found itself equipped with a railway station and entered upon a period of expansion facilitated by this new means of transportation of its products. More land was cultivated in the surrounding farm territory and a cotton gin was established to take care of the increasing crop. Corn mills became secondary, and Miller Brown, with remarkable foresight and adaptability, built a second gin in the new settlement and attached his corn grinder as a side issue. Thus the basis of the old settlement was gone, and school, stores, residences and all that had not already moved followed to the new location.

It was then that Eno Mill settlement thought it was

about to become a metropolis. It was soon counting its population by the hundred, so rapidly was the economic life advanced by the railway facilities. It began to take on the characteristic air of boost and boast. Its very name seemed unworthy of its growing importance, and by common consent it adopted the more high-sounding name of Eno Mills. Its business establishments soon included a drug store, a hardware store, two general stores (groceries and dry goods), a barber shop, a lumber yard, three cotton gins, a livery stable, two blacksmith shops and a bank. There were enough Baptists, Methodists, and Christians to organize three separate churches. The places of business were all located haphazardly along a sort of Main Street, as close to the railway as they could get. The churches tried to be as far apart as possible, for religious differences were beginning to cause friction. Residences followed no orderly plan, streets being for the most part the roads that led to surrounding rural neighborhoods. The town, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the carelessness in planning, grew along conventional lines and resembled hundreds of other villages similarly located.

The people in Eno Mills have never shown much of a tendency to get together for community discussion or action, but there are a few instances in this period which seem to indicate that at least some of the people realized the value of supporting community projects. For one thing, a group of young men organized a band, secured the services of a teacher from the near-by city, and soon built up a creditable musical organization. It was always in demand at picnics, social and other gatherings and became a real asset to the community. The town supported a newspaper from about 1895 to 1914. The paper invariably talked of improvements that the town should make or was going to make in the near future. It served

as a clearing house for announcements, activities and opinions, and became a real force in community progress. The merchants coöperated in striving to attract and stimulate the trade of the surrounding country by giving trade tickets with purchases and holding a monthly drawing for prizes that was somewhat of an occasion. Several lodges, Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, and Eastern Star, were organized. These contributed to community solidarity to some extent, but they also encountered some opposition from the ministers because they tended to attract people away from the church services on Saturday nights.

But on the whole, except for these few instances, one would have to look diligently in order to find indications that the people in Eno Mills ever had an idea that the town could have been vastly improved if its citizens had acted together. Once in a while some one spoke of the need of a water system and electric lights, but it was always assumed that these were in the future. Children pointed out to their parents that a slightly larger town some eight miles away was incorporated and was installing "city conveniences," but parents always replied that Eno Mills was not large enough to provide all these modern improvements.

In other words, the town drifted along in the path of least resistance. It was the rule to take the old order for granted and to delay making a change or an improvement until it was absolutely necessary. It was not until fire had twice wiped out practically all of the business district that a brick building was put up. After the second fire, which had mercifully destroyed the filthy livery stable, the latter establishment was relegated to a secondary street. Concrete walks were built in front of the new brick stores, and patches of walks were built on

one or two residence streets, but no organized effort was ever made to develop interest in these improvements. No attempt was ever made to pave or gravel Main Street or the streets leading toward Dallas and other large towns, although a few days of rain made the black roads sticky and almost impassable. There were only three or four automobiles in the town prior to 1910, and their owners never dreamed of venturing out with them in rainy weather. Since mud roads were good enough for horse and buggy traffic, little interest was taken in the construction of better highways.

From the above facts it appears that the trouble at this stage of the town's development was not so much disorganization as non-organization of community life. But there were a few factors which made for positive disorganization. One of these was the sectarian spirit in the churches.

Any one who suggested that Eno Mills had too many churches would have been regarded as mentally unbalanced. The Baptists had a half-time pastor who was usually a student or a teacher at a junior college in Dallas. They averaged a new pastor every two years, but not one of them ever showed any social vision beyond the task of saving souls for the glory of a Baptist God. The Christians had a younger church organization and were weak at the start, but because they made some effort to enlist the young people and to hold their interest they now hold second place in point of membership. Their pastors were usually students, and without exception they were younger men than the Baptist pastors. As for the Methodists, their pastor lived in Eno Mills and served one or two rural churches also. But none of the denominations was ever satisfied for long with any pastor.

With these three churches on the field, the way was

open for endless controversy. Some of my earliest memories are of religious squabbles. I used to think that none but Baptists could go to heaven, and that if only people of other faiths could be brought to believe as Baptists did they would all have a chance of standing in with God. Every summer each church held its revival meeting. The Baptists and Methodists would alternate for first and second place, while the Christians seemed to think that they fared better by taking last turn always. The methods of saving souls were always the same, namely, working up such an emotional state in the sinner that he finally found relief in a fit of weeping. Children grew up to fear hell and all denominations other than their own. Preachers expatiated upon theological questions and harangued at the young people for their modern sinful ways. Dancing, card playing, Sunday recreation, and a dozen other things would send one to hell. Parents accepted all that the church taught and expected their children to grow into strong moral personalities able to resist all these wiles of the devil. If ever there was a place where religion was out of joint with real human needs it was Eno Mills.

Religious conflict colored every phase of activity, for the churches were solidifying forces only with respect to the membership of each one. From the point of view of the whole community situation they were disrupting factors. The Baptists and Methodists on one occasion even held a public debate on the question of baptism. When the Baptists built a new church, Methodists and Christians at once began to squeeze every dollar possible out of their members in order to build churches as good as the Baptists. By waiting a few years longer they might have found it possible to build substantial brick buildings, but little frame structures were put up, and

they are now inadequate and out of date in every respect. The churches controlled school affairs indirectly, and there was a sort of gentlemen's agreement in the school board that the teachers should be about equally divided between Baptists and Methodists, while the superintendent should alternate. A superintendent who went to church, prayed, sang, and did other church work was always hailed as a wonderful school man. As if the churches did not have enough to war about, the Baptists indulged, about 1907, in a grand split on the question of missions. The minority wanted to build a second Baptist church, but could not raise enough money to build one that would compete with existing structures. This breach has never healed completely and perhaps will remain as a disturbing factor as long as the original participants live.

Little cliques and factions were perennial. One man married a girl over the protest of her guardian-uncle, thereby starting a quarrel that involved several other families and was the cause of a divorce. Two influential men, both Baptists, had a disagreement which made it difficult for them to work together on anything. One was cashier of the bank and the wealthiest man in town. The other was not so wealthy but he was much more influential in church affairs, as his personality was better adapted to mixing and organizing. No preacher who knew the situation would ever put both of these men on the same committee. In fact, one almost suspects that they purposely disagreed on as many things as they could. These are only examples of dozens of little feuds and factions that pervaded the atmosphere, and still do to a large degree.

Still another disrupting factor was the class feeling that had gradually displaced the old pioneer democratic spirit

as differences in economic standing grew up. There was a general feeling that two or three wealthy families—all related, by the way—controlled things and considered themselves a little too good to associate with the rest of the people who formed a lower economic, and hence social, class. This so-called lower class was composed of respectable families of exactly the same background as the rest, but they were poor, they did manual labor, did not dress well and let their children "run wild." It happened that at first most of these families lived east of the railroad tracks, so that the aristocracy on the west side entertained grave doubts as to the worth of that part of town.

A word about education will help to a clearer understanding of this second period in the history of the town, especially since it has such an important bearing on its more recent history. The Eno Mills school children of the period 1890-1910 were not dominated by the more recent idea that a high school education is merely a preparation for college. Most of them took their education as a necessary evil, and few finished even the mediocre course offered in the so-called high school. Girls expected to be good housewives and boys expected to step into their fathers' farming or business shoes. Occasionally a girl broke away and prepared herself to be a school teacher, music teacher, or a boy took a course in pharmacy or bookkeeping. In other words, the school gave no vision beyond the horizon of the small town, no appreciation of the bigness of the world, no vocational direction. Boys and girls stayed in Eno Mills. That was exactly what their parents wished them to do. Furthermore, the church people were suspicious of "higher learning" because the preachers were always warning them of its evils.

Instead of breaking down provincialism, then, the school contributed to an immobility that was almost

pathological. Of course, every one had been to the County Fair in the neighboring county seat, and some went regularly to the State Fair at Dallas. But a resident of the community who had been outside of Texas was a rarity. The fact that two persons attended the World's Fair at St. Louis in 1903 furnished excitement for months. People traveled some, if going to the next town on business, or a youth running away to work or to "get out of trouble" can be called travel. But it was not the kind of travel that educates. A visitor from a place "up North" was always a little queer to these good people. The town was then in just the stage of growth at which there was a job for nearly every boy who wanted to remain at home. A few drifted away, but as a general rule they stayed in Eno Mills.

Period of Saturation and Disorganization. While it is impossible to set any exact date for the beginning of this latest period in the development of Eno Mills community, it is apparent that the old order passed out and passed quickly about the time the World War began. The chief and underlying reason was perhaps economic, but educational changes first set the ball in motion.

About 1912 there was a decided change in the attitude of the churches toward education. They compromised with the dreaded "higher learning" by endorsing Christian education. The Baptist pastor at this time was the president of a Baptist school in a near-by town. In his sermons he talked about education, and soon convinced most of his flock that it was a sin to withhold the advantages of Christian education from their children,—especially the kind of Christian training that his school gave. About the same time the Methodists completed a new school of similar rank (junior college) in a near-by

town, and they also began to look for recruits from the surrounding country. Five or six of the high school graduates in 1915 went to these two schools. When they finished junior college two years later they were the first from Eno Mills' younger generation to have such distinction, for while a few of the "grandfather" generation were well educated, none of their sons and grandsons, except these few venturesome youths, had had any college education. More surprising still, one or two of the junior college graduates went on to the university. Each succeeding class in high school had more boys and girls who were eager to follow their example. Rapidly the tide of public opinion swung around in favor of college training, and it became the fashionable thing in Eno Mills to give their children all the education the parents could afford. In a few years educational tastes had grown so that the church schools were not the only ones doing business in the town. The young people, who cared little for the earlier religious prejudices, insisted on going to the state schools for technical and professional training.

All this was in the line of progress, but it worked out disastrously for the town. No one who went away to college ever wanted to go back to Eno Mills and settle down for life. The town had nothing to offer one who was ambitious to use his new training. Indeed, with the new thoughts and ambitions which the custom of going to college induced, many of the boys and girls realized this fact before they were out of high school. Many were talking of professions, and soon some were studying in preparation for their professional careers in institutions they had never heard of a few years before. The transition was so rapid and the new worlds that opened were so alluring, that it is not surprising if the younger generation some-

what lost their perspective. In their delight at finding these new worlds they resolved never to stay at Eno Mills again unless they failed everywhere else.

But this educational renaissance was not alone responsible for the breakdown of the former immobility. The automobile became possible and popular in Eno Mills about 1914. In that year the number of cars increased from five or six to twenty or twenty-five, and within five years two-thirds of the families in town were car owners. This, combined with the improvement of the roads in northeast Texas, served to break down many small town provincialisms. Still another force was the movie. About 1912 a moving picture show was established. Although it drew the ire of the preachers who tried to hold Saturday night services, it immediately became by far the chief attraction in the way of recreation for both young and old. It was as near as Eno Mills ever came to having a social center. This was before the day of sex movies, so that the "Electric Palace" specialized in wild west pictures and serials of romance and adventure. On the whole its influence was not harmful, but educational. Certainly it gave many a youngster visions and dreams that never would have sprung from the deadening life of the town itself.

These outside contacts, stimulated of course by the War, were the immediate causes of the vital changes that have recently come over Eno Mills. But the real causes lay in a more fundamental condition, namely, the economic situation of the town and country around it. The rural district upon which it drew was too small to make it into a big town, for much of it faced, partly at least, to the bigger towns farther away. The land had all been taken up for a generation and the farms were too small to provide a living for a family, if divided among the chil-

dren. It was the old story of the saturation point in economic expansion, and the shifting of opportunity from country to city. With Eno Mills too small to provide the necessary urban opportunities, it was inevitable that the young people should go away.

There has never been any noticeable antagonism between town and country in this community. In fact, some of the most influential men and best leaders have come from the farms within a radius of a mile or two around the town. Until recently these farms were very stable, that is, they were tilled by their owners and passed on down in the same family. Some sons of these families had of necessity gone out to seek work in the wider world even during the early period, for the farms were usually too small to be divided among many children. But within the last ten or fifteen years very few of the young people have shown any inclination at all to stay on the farms. They prefer to live in Eno Mills, and when they can find no suitable opportunities there, they drift away to larger communities. A bare statement of the situation in ten concrete cases will show vividly what is happening.

A family: 100 acres, inherited. Four sons who helped tend the farm till they finished high school. Mr. A moved to town. Three sons in business, one in Eno Mills. Fourth son, college teacher. Farm now worked by tenants.

B family: 150 acres, bought in 1905. Son in Dallas, son in navy, daughter in western Texas, daughter in college, remaining three in high school. Unlikely that any will stay on farm.

C family: 100 acres, inherited. Mr. C made special effort to make his six children like the farm. Married a widow with children. Nearly all of both sets of children went to college. Most of them have already left home. Only one shows any inclination to farming.

D family: 90 acres, inherited. One child, a son, delicate and feminine sort of person. Mr. D moved into town leaving farm to tenants. Son lives in Eno Mills also, largely supported by his wife, one of the few educated and ambitious women of the town.

E family: 100 acres, inherited. No children. Adopted nephew helped on farm till he married a girl from another state and went into business there. Mr. E moved into town a few years ago.

F family: 140 acres, inherited. 11 children. Older ones moved into town in period of expansion, but all have left except one who runs the movie. Younger ones scattered or in school. None of them will ever farm, probably none will live here except the one above mentioned.

G family: 60 acres bought about 1880. Four children. Daughter married to head of H family. Boys worked on farm till grown. Two now lawyers and one working in other towns. Mr. G recently moved into town.

H family: 80 acres, bought about 1900. Three children. One son working in Dallas, one in A. & M. College. Daughter went to college, got interested in "high-brow" things and does not like Eno Mills any more.

I family: 150 acres, bought shortly after Civil War. Two eldest daughters married and left years ago. Two sons by second marriage. One sent to A. & M. to learn farming, but he quietly took engineering instead. Now a civil engineer in Waco where his father has recently moved. Younger son still in college, but does not plan to be a farmer. Mr. I has several farms all run by tenants.

J family: 130 acres inherited. Two sons. Poor records in high school and academy. Younger may farm sometime. Both in Eno Mills now. Try to run a business, but every year their father has to pay a deficit for them. Recently he has moved to town and rents farm.

This list gives a concrete picture of the changing status of the farm and town population of Eno Mills to-day.

The trend is unmistakable. The cases cited are not special ones, but the ten families immediately surrounding the town, some of them virtually in town, others a mile out. The owners are moving to town, largely no doubt because the children have left home, and they are getting too old to tend the farms. Every one of the heads of families cited held or still holds a place of leadership in the religious, educational or business life of Eno Mills. Their children have been the leaders among the younger group. But as we have seen, few of them are staying in the town, much less on the farm. What is more significant, the emigration is of a selective nature. In former generations those who went west to seek their fortune were not as a class more able than the ones who stayed. Now only the least promising are finding their ambitions satisfied at Eno Mills.

One might speculate on what would have happened if all these young people had returned from college to settle down in their home town. This was, of course, impossible, for the chief cause of the exodus was economic. There was no business expansion to provide for the surplus population. The actual number of business establishments remained the same since 1915, and the farms could not be further subdivided to advantage. But the town does need some of its best young people to take the place of the passing generation. Not a single youth of ability who has gone to college for more than two years has ever gone back. The girls who go to college do not marry the boys who are staying in the community. Eno Mills is becoming an old man's town.

In many ways the gulf between the old and the young is widening. It is noticeable that the boys and girls now growing up in Eno Mills are not interested in church affairs. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that they are

not made to attend church any longer. They claim the right to dance and play cards. A few parents understand the situation and try to guide sensibly the recreational impulses of the children, but the general feeling is that the young people are "going to the dogs." The churches not only do nothing to enlist the interest of the young, but they consistently oppose what the preachers call "modern ways." The best they have ever done is to persuade three or four young musicians in the community to help out during revival meetings.

Among the few efforts to provide recreational facilities for the young people was the organization of a Boy Scout troop by a man from the near-by city who was interested in boys. They drilled and hiked and went on camping trips. But the organization died out after a few months because the tougher boys felt that it was a little too highbrow for them. Later another man from the same city organized a Hi-Y Club, but he, too, failed to reach the boys who loafed around on the streets. The club is now extinct. The task of organizing recreation for the young people would be easy if the churches took it up in a really sympathetic way, but no one in the community seems to think this a matter of any importance.

Once in a while, moved by loyalty to the town, some of the better trained of the younger generation endeavor to find or make a place for themselves there. A few years ago two young men who had been away to college decided to revive the local paper which had died some years before. It had been a failure, partly on account of the type of men who had edited it, partly because of the small number of subscribers. But these two young crusaders felt that it would be worth while from the point of view of the life of the town to have a weekly newspaper. They found, however, that the people had come

to depend on the papers from near-by towns and less near-by cities. The merchants, who should have been interested in the enterprise, frankly opposed it on the ground that it would not increase their business. The young editors, unable to get either subscribers or advertisers, soon abandoned their proposed journalistic undertaking.

The one organization that has operated with any efficiency in recent years was the Red Cross during the World War. To be sure, its activities were limited to making bandages and knitting socks and sweaters, but it did efficient work and it united the women of all social and economic classes. Its experience demonstrates what organized effort can accomplish in Eno Mills, provided a motive strong enough can be supplied.

Eno Mills to-day, then, has most of the faults of the past era plus the evils of a stagnant community and the attendant dearth of new leadership. People no longer engage in the bitter religious squabbles of earlier days, but their liberalism is more like a tolerant laziness than a willingness to let others believe as they please. Factions, rumors, scandals, and rumors of scandals are ever-present, and any attempt to get concerted community action would uncover these. Business is "slow," church attendance is small, church activities have dropped to the minimum, lodges barely maintain their charters. No other activities are organized. There is not a single girls' or boys' club, no business men's organization, no farmers' organization (the Farm Bureau is supposed to be active, but it has been confused with politics, and lacks leadership), no women's organizations. The women have tried to sponsor a Parent-Teacher Association, but it has been a half-hearted affair. Sometimes an energetic man gets up a baseball club during the summer or brings a rodeo

or carnival to town, but these are thoroughly commercialized, besides being of doubtful value to the community.

Conclusion. Of course, it is no cause for alarm that no more organizations exist in Eno Mills. I imagine that a small town that functioned perfectly in its community activities would really have very little formal machinery. But it seems that by taking thought and coming together in the spirit of coöperation, the people in a town like this could make it a very remarkable place. Unhampered by overorganization, and freed from the evils of too rapid industrial growth, this kind of town possesses many advantages which might very well be turned to good account. The social life of the town could be more articulate, more wholesome, more educational, more satisfying. But when one takes careful stock of the present situation and observes closely the trends in the development of the community, the conclusion seems inevitable that the outlook for the future is not promising. Eno Mills apparently was a more satisfying place in which to live thirty years ago than it is to-day. The disorganizing influences are too deep-seated to be checked by ordinary means, and are each year carrying forward the processes of disintegration.

CHAPTER III

WAGRAM: BLOOD RELATIONSHIP AND TRADITION AS ORGANIZING FORCES

Introductory Note. In the preceding chapter was presented the problem of a declining agricultural trade center where the decreasing economic returns were accompanied by an apparent deterioration of the community's social institutions. This case study of Wagram deals with a somewhat similarly situated community characterized by an unusual degree of solidarity which has been successfully maintained in spite of the disintegrating forces at work in rural life. In the early development of this rural community, blood relationship and a common sharing of the hardships of pioneer days were binding forces of great power. Through the influence of broad-minded leaders during its early period, attitudes of unity were built up which have been incorporated into its traditions and still serve as social patterns for the people. The feeling of solidarity thus produced has been strong enough to prevent religious cleavages in a section of the country where sectarianism has often played a disturbing rôle in community development. For many years the Presbyterian and Baptist churches, situated several miles apart, shared amicably the honor of serving as the centers of community life. More recently the little country town of Wagram, built midway between the sites of the old churches, has become the local trade center for the surrounding people as well as the home of the new church buildings.

This prosperous agricultural community, favorably situated in the heart of the cotton belt in North Carolina and settled by thrifty Scotch people of high average intelligence, presents a picture of unity, loyalty, and satisfying social relationships worthy of careful study. Like the majority of other farming areas, it has had to contend in recent years with the discouraging problem of low economic returns and with lack of opportunities for varied employment, which have driven many of its more highly-gifted young people to the cities for their professional careers. The factor which seems to distinguish it sharply from other rural and small-town communities is the continued loyalty of its expatriates and the active part they take in perpetuating the old traditions. Their annual pilgrimage to their old homes and their constant interest in the affairs of the community, no matter where they may live, are of great significance, for through these means the non-residents continue as an integral part of community life.

The history of such organizations as the Temperance Society reveals the vast changes that have taken place in the type of rural organizations during the past fifty years. With the wider interests of the people of the present day, the decline of such local groups seems inevitable. Apparently the modern devices in vogue to meet the social needs of the people are more elaborate and stimulating, but are not nearly so effective in promoting a closely knit feeling of unity in community relationships.

Another significant feature of this Scottish community was the dominant nature of its distinctively rural interests with the town center playing only a minor rôle. It originally grew up as a farming community with its centers located at two churches several miles apart in the open country. When the railroad came and the village

of Wagram was established, the people looked forward hopefully to its growth into a town of importance. So powerful was the appeal of the town during its early years that the old church sites were abandoned and church buildings were erected at the new community center. But the town's failure to grow in accord with their expectations and their realization finally that it would never be more than a village did not have a disorganizing effect upon the community. After all, the traditions of the people centered around their rural interests, and with the growth of better means of transportation, the stand-still of Wagram was to them a matter of little concern.

In the enforcement of the moral and social code of the community, there is every evidence of the continued power of the old traditional order. This is seen in the carefully observed taboo against the marriage of blood kin even in the case of distant cousins. It is apparent also in the maintenance of the ideal of family solidarity in spite of the modern tendency toward disorganization in the home. Perhaps there has been little revolt against community control because the leaders have shown remarkable freedom from intolerance and ultra-conservative attitudes of mind. Nevertheless, the task of preserving the traditional code of behavior has grown more difficult with the coming of larger numbers of aliens. The power of the old clans is without doubt declining. The old bases of solidarity, blood relationship, and tradition, seem inadequate to cope with the disintegrating forces at work in modern communities. It is doubtful whether this unusually well-established community can preserve its distinctive features for another generation.

Historical Background. For the historical background of Wagram and an understanding of its unity we must go back to those stirring days in Scotland in 1746

when, in the battle of Culloden, Charles Edward Stuart, the Pretender to the British throne, was hopelessly defeated, Scotland overrun by the English, and his Highland supporters scattered. Many followed the example of Flora MacDonald and emigrated to America, settling along the Cape Fear River, in Bladen County, North Carolina, and gradually spreading out to what is now Robeson and Scotland counties.

Back in Scotland, about 1784, was born Donald Whyte, or as he was later known, Daniel White, son of a shepherd. He was converted in 1800 to the heretical and despised Baptist sect which was then being persecuted by the English bent on maintaining the Established Church. A short time later he became a Baptist preacher and traveled up and down the valleys calling the Presbyterians from their satisfied belief in election to repentance and faith in grace. Traditions vary a little in details, but however told, there is romance in the fact that this itinerant preacher, son of a shepherd, and himself a fisher boy who had added nothing to his social status by embracing the cause of the Baptists, wooed and won beautiful and witty and capable Catherine Campbell, daughter of the laird of an influential clan, a landowner and a man of considerable wealth.

Soon White began to see visions and hear voices calling him to America where he knew so many of the Scots had settled some sixty years before. After much protest Catherine agreed to come and in 1807 they set out, her father having become so reconciled to the match that he sent her away with her patrimony in gold guineas. The missionary couple arrived in North Carolina late in 1807. The Presbyterians, to whom White had felt called, refused to let him preach on their land, so that his first services were held in the middle of the Fayetteville-

Cheraw state road with the congregation lined up on each side of the highway. In 1813, with five converts besides himself and his wife, he organized a Baptist church later known as Spring Hill Church. So Scotch was the community that he preached in the morning in English and repeated the sermon in the afternoon in Gaelic. From 1807 to his death in 1824, White traveled in the neighboring counties of North and South Carolina, preaching, baptizing, organizing churches—a gifted speaker, a magnetic personality, a voice crying in the wilderness. To this day his name is held in high honor by his own denomination throughout the state, and he is called the "Father of the Scotch Baptists in North Carolina."

Catherine Campbell, more businesslike than her visionary husband, invested her gold guineas in a vast plantation in what is now Scotland County, acquired slaves, and managed her establishment so that her growing family had as many comforts as the still raw country provided. She learned to sew and spin, and through the study of herbs became able to prescribe for any ordinary ailment. She was known throughout the community as a ministering neighbor in any sort of sickness or distress. With all her varied duties she still found time to be a real preacher's helpmate: she organized the women into what was probably the first missionary society in North Carolina and the children into a sort of junior missionary society.

The four daughters of this couple married young men of the community and this intermarriage with neighboring families has gone on for a hundred years, until, according to the estimate of one of the older heads, full 50 per cent of the community-conscious group claim descent from Grandpaa and Grandmaa White and about 75 per cent have some sort of connection by marriage. The Scots

are proverbially a clannish people; the descendants of Daniel and Catherine Campbell White are more clannish than is usual even for Scots. They cherish traditions and incidents about those pioneer ancestors, in both Scotland and America, so that the great-great-grandparents of the people of this community are flesh and blood, more real to their descendants than most people's grandparents. There is love for their very human qualities, pride in their achievements in a new country and reverence for their memory.

John Monroe, Community Builder. In 1820, under White's ministry, sixteen-year-old John Monroe was converted and when White died in Pender County on one of his missionary journeys four years later, his mantle fell upon the shoulders of the twenty-year-old youth. For sixty-five years, till 1889, the longest pastorate in North Carolina, Uncle John Monroe ruled his people in spiritual matters and judged them in most temporal ones. He settled disputes, he admonished the erring; he buried the dead with truthful comments on their lives even if they had been wicked; he prayed for rain and people brought their umbrellas to the prayer meeting. The people feared him somewhat, but they loved him; certainly toward the end of his long service respect had grown to a reverence seldom to be found even in those days of great influence of the church and its representatives.

During the early days of the little band of Baptists they were on the defensive against the more numerous Presbyterians. But largely through the unique personality and good sense of John Monroe, sectarian spirit always remained in the background and religious rivalry was not permitted to interfere with social relationships. The general feeling of neighborliness seems to have been increased by the establishment in 1855 of the new Mont-

pelier Presbyterian church located some six or seven miles from Spring Hill. But before and after this there was much to draw them together. After all they were all Scots in an un-Scotch land; the early ranks of the Baptists were made up of converted Presbyterians, so that many families of the two groups were already related, and intermarriage was bringing more of the two flocks together. Uncle John Monroe belonged almost as much to the Presbyterians of Montpelier as to the Baptists of Spring Hill, and they loved and respected him little less than did his own people. Monroe always had one of his sons attend the Presbyterian Church because he thought a representative of the church and of his family should be there; fifty years ago one man was a deacon in the Baptist Church and treasurer of the Presbyterian. When Monroe drove by the Presbyterian Church he would get out, and was more than once overheard praying fervently for Montpelier and its members as he knelt by their church. There seems to be little doubt that during nearly a century when rival sects almost all over North Carolina were dividing communities into hostile factions, Spring Hill and Montpelier dwelt in harmony and joined forces in their various community activities.

Education and Richmond Academy. One of these activities in which the people coöperated was education. The Scots have a traditional respect for education, and the community even in the early days sent youths to the state university at Chapel Hill. About 1850 the people of the entire community coöperated in founding Richmond Academy, a subscription school which prepared the local boys for college and university, and gave the girls more education than was ordinarily available for country girls of that day.

Before the Civil War most of those who went to college

attended the state university. Since the war, probably because the university had closed its doors for several years, and because the denominational colleges became more alive to recruiting in their churches, most of the Baptist youths have gone to Wake Forest College and the Presbyterians to Davidson. The general trend of the times toward education for women has not found the people hide-bound on the subject, and so Meredith (Baptist) and Flora MacDonald (Presbyterian) colleges have, since their founding, seldom been without one or more representatives of the community. Whereas both religious groups formerly laid equal emphasis upon higher education for their children, during the past twenty or thirty years fewer and fewer Presbyterian children have been given the advantage of college training. The Baptists, on the other hand, still maintain such great interest in education that it is not unusual to find Baptist families in which all the children are college graduates. In striking contrast to most rural communities in the South, this community has been noted for its educated men and women, and has also had several private libraries of quite respectable size, an unusual thing in North Carolina where books have always been scarce. Orators, of whom there were plenty, could refer glibly to the classics of English and ancient literature, and what is more, they could be sure that their audiences understood their literary allusions.

After the heyday of the Richmond Academy there was a period during the 'nineties and nineteen hundreds in which the elementary education of the community was taken care of by neighborhood schools at Riverton and on the Juniper. The community was never at a loss for well-trained teachers. Usually local college women served these schools and sometimes the young men who had been

away to college taught as they managed their farms.

In recent years with the growth of better educational facilities, a modern school building has been erected near the village of Wagram. Because of the small population of the township, the school cannot muster enough pupils for an accredited high school according to standards set by the State Department of Education. Last year the people tried to convince the state officials that having the special tax, the proper equipment, and more and better qualified teachers per pupil than required, they should be recognized. The discussion got into the open forums of the state press and Governor McLean, himself an old student of Richmond Academy, interested one of the most brilliant feature writers in the state, Ben Dixon McNeill, a cousin of the Scotch clans, in writing up the history of the school, naming its prominent students and pointing out the absurdity of literal adherence to red tape. This school affair has been one of the strongest rallying points in recent years.

The Temperance Society. Another of the new community ventures in the middle of the last century, and one that grew out of both church and school, was the Richmond Temperance and Literary Society. Scots have a reputation for liking their liquor strong; certainly there is a tradition in that community that while very few drank at all, when they were intemperate they did the job very thoroughly; as one expressed it, "they could not drink like gentlemen." And so the society was organized in 1855, "its object being uncompromising hostility to intemperance and an untiring zeal for the advancement of literature and art." Those who joined gave a pledge to "neither make, buy, sell, nor use as a beverage any intoxicating drink whatsoever." A member breaking his pledge was fined five dollars, a large sum in those days, and on

second offense was expelled. It was a member's duty to report others breaking their pledges. The society met every two weeks to debate, and heard compositions and speeches. It owned books to lend to members. So strong was it that by 1860, instead of meeting at Richmond Academy, it moved into its own hall, a two-story, brick, hexagon-shaped building. On the top, carved in wood, was a wine glass turned upside down on an open Bible.

Debates covered every sort of subject varying at times from a discussion concerning the advisability of the South's going to war to the problem of continuing the local fair. At one meeting the subject for discussion was "the most useful profession," and the decision, which throws some light on community attitudes, placed teaching first, printing second, blacksmithing third, and farming fourth. Not only the appointed debaters but every member was expected to take part, including even the small boys. During the war the society did relief work in the community, and after the war picked itself up in April, 1865, with this interesting entry in its minutes: "After a considerable interruption caused by an unwelcome visit of Sherman's thieves, the Society meets again. And of course when God's own house is outraged by the Yankee brutes, temples of morality and science will not be respected." The Temperance Society, as it is usually called, continued until about 1885. After a period of lessened interest, it ceased meeting because some of its leading spirits had died, while others had moved away. Perhaps also the fact that more people were going to college may have made self-education a less powerful interest. During its long history it was an important forum which developed a community of debaters. Men still active in affairs in North Carolina look back to training received in the little hexagon-shaped building at Spring Hill.

Beginning of the Exodus of Young People. There was always an occasional young man who tried his fortune in a wider world and more than an occasional young woman who married and was taken away. Daniel White Johnson, called the greatest intellect that the community has produced, and a brilliant young lawyer, went to Huntsville, Alabama, before the Civil War and joined the Confederate Army from there, and was killed at the age of thirty. His writings are well known in his home community. Senator Hawley of Connecticut, born and reared here, left before the war. With the next generation the outward movement shows signs of considerable acceleration. A remarkable number of men went out from this community and gained fame as lawyers, ministers, editors, and government officials. The community remembers with special pride the poet, John Charles McNeill, who came back home to die while still a young man. Of the present generation of young men, especially in the Baptist families of the community, about half are leaving. Whereas the young men used to return from college to farm and an occasional one to preach or practice law at home, more and more they are going into professions which make it necessary for them to live in the cities.

Pilgrimages Home and the Summer Colony. But the Baptist emigrants always return, usually in summer, to visit the old homes and the kin remaining; as one expressed it, they come back "no matter how far they roam and how sophisticated they become." They talk about the community wherever they may be situated and a neighbor in Raleigh or Philadelphia knows as much about Aunt Caroline's curls or Aunt Polly's cookies or the oaks at Grandmonny's house, the hard luck of Cousin Mannie or the state of the crops on the Juniper as he would about

his own neighbors. In 1906 the family of Mr. Archibald Johnson built a rough cabin for a summer home and the whole family came for the entire summer. This set an example which has been extensively followed, so that the community has a reunion of expatriates each year on a far larger scale than would be possible if they were just visiting. Without doubt, this summer influx of emigrants who emphasize the old traditions and the family lines has been of great value in maintaining community solidarity. During the past fifteen years the large number of aliens and tenant families that have had to be absorbed has put a real strain upon the community and has tended toward the formation of a mixed group with much less feeling of comradeship than was characteristic of the older residents. In the opinion of many, this outside pressure by the expatriates, who in their writings and conversation are always emphasizing the uniqueness of the community, is one of the strongest unifying forces.

The Rise of Wagram. Early in the nineteen hundreds a branch line of a railroad penetrated the community from the direction of Red Springs to tap the forests of long leaf pine for lumber and turpentine. Near the center of the community "The Station" was located and near by a general store was established. The little log road brought in some merchandise, and when the forests were exhausted, this freight traffic, together with the shipping of cotton, was enough to keep it operating as a branch road. The few passengers rode in a half-and-half car, or whatever there was, even if it was the cab of "Little Hector" itself. Another road came from Aberdeen on the north and met "Mr. Blue's Road." Several stores were started, simple cottages and later more pretentious residences were built, a bank was opened, and people floated in from everywhere with the new activities. The population of the township

increased from 1,818 in 1900 to 2,571 in 1910, a gain of 30 per cent. One of the railroad men, a tremendous admirer of Napoleon, named the new town for one of his victories,—hence the rather alien-sounding name of Wagram.

For some years there was almost a boom. Several of the important families, especially among the Presbyterians, moved in and built new homes there. The outsider casually acquainted with the place and the people of the community from about 1909 to 1914 somehow caught the spirit: one day Wagram would be a real town. The Presbyterians at Montpelier across the river built a new church in the little hamlet, and some years later the Baptists at Spring Hill somewhat reluctantly decided that they would have to give up the site redolent with the memories of a hundred years and do the same. The whole community began to face toward the new town of Wagram.

And it still does to a certain extent, but the coming of the town has made little difference in the rural nature of the community. For something stunted Wagram's growth. The last census showed practically no increase in population. Probably the bad slump in cotton in 1914 hurt it greatly, for this is the chief crop. And after all, being the terminal of two railroads that are merely branches of other branch roads, is not a great asset. The development of industry in such a location is out of the question. Moreover, its status as a rural trade center is being seriously threatened by the coming of good roads and automobiles, which facilitate the shopping of the people in the larger towns fifteen and twenty miles away.

The writer visited the town this year, after thirteen years, and remembering the boom spirit of 1913, was surprised to find that the people have not only become ad-

justed to the fact that "Wagram will never amount to anything," but have forgotten that they ever thought otherwise.

Politics and the Community. Politics in the larger sense has played a relatively small part in the community, although the people have by no means neglected their governmental duties. The community has furnished county officials and an occasional legislator for seventy-five years, one recently winning over an influential anti-evolutionist from another part of the county. "Red Shirt Days" in the 'nineties, when the Democrats were making the final and successful effort to overthrow the Republican and Negro régime in North Carolina—a sort of second reconstruction—brought stirring times to Scotland County because of the large number of Negroes (over 50 per cent), and Spring Hill township had its full share of excitement. As all the white citizens of the community were on the same side, this experience gave an added feeling of unity and common cause.

Of petty politics and family quarrels there have been a few. In an earlier generation a young man from the outside came in and married a daughter of the White-Johnson or Campbell family, the principal clan. He proved to be a Populist and a rabid one—about as welcome politically in that community as a skunk in a hen-house. He had violent quarrels with a member of his wife's family, first about politics and then about family affairs, but the community let them have it out individually without lining up behind them. Consequently, though the feud contributed some colorful touches, it disturbed nobody but the two actors. More recently, one man caused some trouble by insisting that the Croatans —half-breed Indians with Negro blood—attend the white school. There was more or less feeling because this was

an issue that affected the whole people, but again there was so little lining up of factions that when the matter was finally decided against the merging there was not enough factional spirit to continue the quarrel.

One would imagine that in a community where there are so many relatives there would have developed feuds some time during this long history over property if over nothing else. Such has not been the case. In one branch of the White-Johnson clan living on the edge of the community there is a family that has had some difficulties on this score, but the clan as a whole paid little attention to the family quarrel and refused to take sides. Many years ago right in the heart of the chief clan there was one who coveted a certain field because of its picturesque scenery, although it plainly belonged with another's share. The ancestress in control at the time gave it to him, and none of her descendants complain of her decision. As one of the clan says, a man who has spent a long life as a part of it, "When any one went off at a tangent, whether it was in politics or anything else, the whole community just let him go alone or tried to satisfy him if possible."

Negroes and Croatans. As has been mentioned, the Negro population of Scotland County is very large, always more than fifty per cent, and Spring Hill township has quite as large a proportion as other parts of the county. It has never had many Croatans. On a few occasions Negroes and Croatans have caused political flurries, but aside from these episodes, their life has flowed along seemingly smoothly enough and with its own unity. An analysis of the Negro social situation would probably be as interesting as that of the white community upon which it is superimposed. Many of the Negro women are in domestic service, for more families of the community have cooks than is usual in

rural sections of North Carolina. Apparently the Negroes have learned some lessons in community spirit from their white ex-owners and present landlords and employers, for the Spring Branch Baptist Church is as powerful a unifying force with them as Spring Hill and Montpelier ever were for the whites. Organized shortly after the Civil War it has continued its hold upon the people and even spread its influence over a somewhat broader territory than the present white community. It has over 700 members and the whole community, white as well as colored, takes considerable pride in its size and its activity. The "Big August Meeting" has been for many decades a great rallying time, and white families defer to it in their relations with cooks even more than they do to "Preaching Sunday" here and elsewhere in rural sections of the state.

In more recent years an excellent Negro school has been developed which gives exhibits of handicrafts which are visited and patronized by the "white folks."

Aliens and the Clans. All through its history occasional aliens have drifted into the community. Always singularly free from the "po' white trash" element, it had an occasional white tenant. These were welcomed into the church and school, and in later days into the recreation at the river, but never quite as social equals. Any visiting between these aliens and the older families was somewhat on the same basis of patronage as it is likely to be in other parts of North Carolina. Likewise there have always been occasional outside families similar in status to the chief group. When their education and standards were the same they were taken in as vital parts of the community, and no doubt felt themselves to be such, "but of course they were not kin," we are reminded.

Sometimes the young aliens, in the earlier days usually Scots themselves, married into one of the chief families. When this has happened these new individuals become thoroughly identified with the clan. They become versed in the family lore, gradually lose their contact with their own absent families; and their children, though like brother and sister to clan cousins, seldom know or care more for their alien cousins than is common anywhere else. If one of these aliens goes off at a tangent on community affairs, the clansmen do not follow him, but they do not disown him; if he gets violently drunk they wrestle with him, but he is still of them; if he is just hardboiled and disagreeable they endure him with no complaint to outsiders. From long acquaintance with many members of the community I am convinced that they do not even complain of him to each other, except in friendly comment or in jokes about his peculiarities,—indeed his and clansmen's peculiarities are almost treasured as picturesque details. Sometimes when a prospective addition is exhibited to the clan, their merciless analysis severely tests the affections of the "annexee," but once in, he is one of them. If there is this degree of loyalty toward the adopted member one can imagine what it is to blood kin. As one expressed it: "We always present an undivided front to the outsider."

The Force of Tradition. As the brief history given above suggests, there is a great deal of tradition and family history current in the community. Enough very human details to etch an individual portrait of all the important men and women of the past are common knowledge of any generation whether they are of their family or not. Everybody trains the newcomer, so that relatively late settlers can glibly recite details of local history and tradition. They know about Grandpaa White's

vision in Scotland of a congregation he later saw in America; that every acre of the land bought with Catherine Campbell's gold guineas is still in the hands of her descendants. The unifying force of this common tradition has always been tremendous and naturally as time has gone on and the body of tradition grows larger, its unifying power has been cumulative and is a source of considerable community pride.

Social Control. As a natural outgrowth of the long cherished community traditions, the deeply religious tone of the community from its beginnings, and family unity and clannishness, there has been built up in the community a moral and social code unusual in some of its phases and powerful in its operation.

One of the most powerful taboos is the intermarriage of blood kin. To the outsider, lost in the mazes of double first cousins and of kin-claiming to the nth degree of cousinship, it seems incredible that all, especially in the chief, the Campbell clan, have not married blood kin; but the youngest member of the family can trace out the intricate lines to your satisfaction. Not that there is very much said about such intermarriage; perhaps that is the point—it is so thoroughly a part of the *mores* of the community that it does not have to be specifically taught to the young generations. The latter play together as children, later they have swimming parties and picnics and neighborhood gatherings altogether on a cousinly—indeed almost on a brotherly and sisterly—basis. If a young man shows preference for one of his cousins, neither he nor the girl is teased as sweethearts, not even by their cousins of the same age. Far be it from a mere outsider to try to penetrate into the private hopes and fears of the parents of the young people as they

pass through such a dangerous stage; with the feeling against marriage of kin they must have such fears sometimes, but they are never voiced. One ancestor several generations back married a cousin, and older men and women still tell you that "their children were the ugliest bunch in the world"; I well remember the tremendous protest that went up thirteen years ago when for the first time in many decades a couple broke the rule. Since then there has been another, and older people still shake their heads over these as though they were almost the order of the day in a new and disorderly world.

Other matters of family morality are as strictly controlled. There has never been a divorce or a desertion in the community. So far as is known there has never been a family where the heads "did not get along." If they did not, they kept their disagreements for the home roof and presented a united front to the world, even to the little world of the neighborhood. In an earlier generation one clanswoman, married to a newcomer, must have had more to endure from her husband than could rightfully be expected, but she stood by him and without complaint, rather than face disgrace by leaving him.

Some thirty years ago a newcomer seduced a young girl of the community. So strong was public opinion against him that he cleared out completely, finding the righteous wrath of the Presbyterian and Baptist Scots too hot for him. Some twelve years ago a daughter of a family on the outskirts of the community went away to work and "went wrong." Her family took her in and have stood loyally by her and are devoted to her child, but they felt the shame and disgrace so keenly that they have retired completely from the life of the community except attendance at church. Their retirement, it should

be mentioned, was self-imposed; the others pitied them intensely and made a point of "being nice" to them at church.

One of the most unique forms of control has to do with dress and other material accoutrements of life. If a person wants to "dress up" and can afford it, his taste and finery are appreciated; if he is able and does not, he is not labeled stingy; if he is not able and therefore does not, he is not looked down upon in the slightest. Indeed no one seems to be conscious of the finery or the lack of it in relation to social standing. The same is true of houses and cars and refreshments for entertainments. Because of the generally good economic standing and the long tradition of education and taste, all want as many of the good things as possible, but no one makes a show for the effect on the rest. One reason for this is the fact that so many are kin and are accepted for family sake quite apart from anything else; besides they are naturally and traditionally a plain, straightforward, and sincere people. One family in the recent generation has been inclined toward extravagance and some people in the community feel a bit of resentment that a few "kow-tow" to them because of their display. And yet one young woman complains privately that the members of this family embarrass her because they defer so much to her, since she has been to college and they happen not to have been. As one expressed it: "We admire them for their correctness and taste in a lovely home and surroundings and they return the compliment for what they think is our education and taste in other matters."

Spring Hill township community is still a primary group and social control is still on that basis. That the control has been and still is so powerful is due not only to this fact of face-to-face relationships but also to the

nature of the people and the peculiar character of the organizing factors in their community life.

Recreation and Its Economic Foundations. The economic well-being of the people has always been based on farming, and the small business establishments in Wagram are so dependent on farm trade and crops that "Cotton is still King." Having relatively good land, and possessing a high grade of intelligence, the people have built up a community which in its social and economic status easily outranks the average farming community in North Carolina. The result has been that all have had some leisure and at least some money to devote to the social, educational, and religious activities that the community has fostered. Another result, and one that is becoming increasingly important from the point of view of the organization of the community, is the time and attention the people have given to recreation. They have always been fond of coming together in their homes for cottage prayer meetings, meetings of the Ladies' Aid societies, and the like. More recently, clubs have been formed, and informal neighborhood gatherings of large groups, especially of the young people, for singing and "stunts" have become popular. And in the summer the tendency in this direction is accelerated. The chief crops, corn and cotton, are "laid by" in early and late July, respectively, while harvesting does not begin until September. The month of August finds everybody with more leisure than farm people with more varied crops; it is the time all the expatriates return for visiting. For the last twenty years the social good times have gradually become centered at the "river," an excellent natural bathing beach on the slow-moving, deep, cool Lumbee. Some of the *mores* in religious and rural codes suffered rather severe shocks, but gradually gave way in favor of

the young men and women swimming together. Every day except Sunday sees an assembling of all ages for a dip or a picnic. So well-known did the good times of the community group become that people came from towns as far as thirty miles away to join them, until the local folks felt almost crowded out. The opening, in recent years, of a bathing beach lower down on the river has taken most of these outsiders away, and the old groups are happy to "have it again to themselves."

Changing Status of Community Forces. It is not the object of this sketch to paint a picture of unity and brotherly love that sounds like a veritable Eden of harmony. There have been far fewer disorganizing factors here than is probably common, but even here there have been some. In the very early years, of course, religion and the invasion of the Baptists must have caused severe strains upon good fellowship and the solidarity of the community. Then from being the minority religion, the Baptists passed through a long period when they were stronger in numbers and influence than the Presbyterians. During that time there seems to have been a general feeling of ever so slight superiority over the other church: did not Daniel White found it; did they not have the older church and many of the most influential people; did they not have Uncle John Monroe, no mean asset himself; was not the Presbyterian a rather poor sort of church sometimes in which some of the very deacons got drunk? With the passing of the years, the exodus of the Baptist young people, the tables are now turned and the Baptists are a bit apologetic because they do not have a full time pastor and sometimes a poor one at that. They cannot help but feel keenly about their dwindling membership and the recent business failure in Wagram which threatened to split their church. The Presbyterians have mar-

ried and annexed many Methodists who came in with the development of Wagram and this fact, together with their economic prosperity and home-settling habits, makes their church stronger than ever.

As a matter of fact, however, neither church is the center and force that it once was. Indeed the last ten years has seen a considerable loss of prestige here as well as in other rural sections. So far this is merely a negatively disorganizing factor, but it can easily become the seedbed for more positive ones. The Woman's Club with ninety members includes "everybody," and while it has been for some years a live and influential body, it has recently developed germs of division that are troubling some of the leaders. The Parent-Teachers Association has been a department of the club, where it has the interest of many people with no children in school. But some of the teachers, opposed to having this organization in a subordinate position, are agitating for a separation, which will mean that instead of a single effective club, the forces of the community will be divided in their support of two rival organizations.

The two main groups of natives are the Campbell, or White-Johnson clan, and the Purcell connection, with quite a number who are related to at least some in both groups. For many decades the former was the larger and took the lead in the community with the other native Scotch families in smaller units. With the Campbell-Baptist group emigrating and some of the smaller families coalescing by intermarriage into the Purcell-Presbyterian group who settle at home, the two groups are now for the first time about equal in size. In earlier days there was some intermarriage between Baptists and Presbyterians with sometimes one and sometimes the other member of the alliance giving up his or her church;

more recently Baptist-Campbells usually marry aliens where they go to work, while Presbyterian-Purcells marry the aliens who came in with the growth of Wagram. So far there has been no sense of competition, friendly or otherwise, between the two groups as such, but the stage is more perfectly set than ever before for such a division should any issue arise.

The bonds that have served to unite this community for over a century have included practically all of those forces which we have come to consider strongest in creating community spirit. They are religion, blood relationship, education, common traditions, economic similarity, recreation, and finally community pride growing out of the wide recognition of the uniqueness of the community. Some of these have been present from the beginning; sometimes one, sometimes another may have been temporarily to the fore as a unifying power. In these later years the chief bases of solidarity have shifted from religion and even from blood relationship. More important now are the force of tradition, recreation, and pride in the reputation of the community. With the exception of the first, these are bonds we still consider somewhat superficial. The history of the community for the next generation will be an interesting experiment in testing their permanence and power.

CHAPTER IV

FAIRMONT: A COMPLETE CYCLE OF COMMUNITY RISE AND DECLINE

Introductory Note. In the rise and development of communities, the fundamental importance of ecological factors is readily apparent. The topography of the place, means of transportation, types of industry, and the entire economic situation, place their stamp upon the structure of the community, determine the quality of its population, and fix the limits of its future growth. And yet in spite of the community's dependence on these and similar factors, the fundamental nature of the process of community growth is frequently ignored. Many people in their sentimental and economic attachment to the community in which they live have been singularly blind to its limitations. This has been especially apparent in numerous small towns whose inhabitants persistently cling to the hope of future expansion regardless of the inescapable handicaps inherent in the nature of the community itself.

In order to throw some light on this process of community growth, there is here presented the history of a mining town which in a short period of one generation passed through a complete cycle of rise and decline. The very rapidity of the action dramatizes more clearly the processes which in a somewhat less spectacular manner characterize the growth of communities everywhere. This town of Fairmont, which grew up in the vortex of a gold rush, possessed all the unstable characteristics of boom towns similarly situated. It rose rapidly, attracted

many kinds of adventurers, and was filled with a restless sort of liberty that seemed incompatible with the usual development of institutional life. But in a remarkably short time the customary forms of social control were put into operation and the town fitted itself into the traditional mold in so far as its isolated situation made this possible.

From one point of view the rise and decline of Fairmont may be regarded as essentially an economic problem. As a single industry town located apart from the well-established population centers, its fortunes depended on the mines which originally determined its location. Its rapid development during its early years grew out of a misapprehension of the quality and quantity of its gold-bearing ore. The wild rush for sudden wealth and the accompanying excitement of the people prevented a calm appraisal of the town's possibilities on the basis of its potential resources. As long as the mines could be operated profitably, the town prospered; when the mines closed down, the town could no longer continue.

But along with this fundamental economic problem, there developed other factors in the situation which played their part in determining the destiny of the town. From the start Fairmont faced serious population problems with which it was never able to cope successfully. Its restless adventurers and the predominance of males during its early period of settlement, the various nationalities that could not be assimilated, the wide range of social classes, with barriers setting each from the others, and the excessive mobility of the people brought heavy strains upon law and order and made unity of action out of the question. The town was highly disorganized even during its short period of apparent stability when it seemed to have before it a successful future. Political

conflict and conflict between capital and labor arose as soon as the people had leisure to give to such issues.

On the whole it may be said that the town during its period of rapid growth was characterized by strict insistence upon social gradations and the rigid drawing of class lines; whereas, during its later history when all were depressed by the misfortune of community decline, the more superficial class distinctions disappeared and there was a marked drawing together of those elements in the population that had fundamental interests in common. Social conflict, in so far as it existed at first, was left largely to the women in their various group relationships. Later as the struggle for existence became more severe during the period of unemployment and decreasing economic returns, class conflict on important issues became the order of the day. The town also suffered during its decline from loss of able leadership as men of real ability were among the first to depart to more attractive fields. In the era of prosperity, the social and intellectual élite welcomed positions of importance in town affairs, thus giving the community the advantage of their services. In its latter days, the quality of its leaders was lowered until finally an illiterate man was elected a member of the town council. While the parallel cannot be too closely drawn, there does seem to be a distinct relation between the changing economic status of the town and the social attitudes of the people as they are given expression in the organization of the community.

The Founding of the Community. About twenty-five years ago an Indian guide, finding that the party of Americans by whom he was engaged were looking for lumps of bright quartz, showed them some he had picked up in his hunting. Greatly excited, they offered him extra pay if he would quickly show them where he had found

it. The guide led them to the spot on the side of the mountain where was soon to spring up the town called Fairmont after the leader of the party. The prospectors staked many claims and registered them at the recording office which was several days' journey distant on foot or snowshoe. In two or three days' time, the Canadian and American newspapers had spread the story. For months after, all roads led to Fairmont. A small junction town on the way grew rich from the tourists, adventurers, and miners who had to wait there for the boat which called only twice a week to pick up the passengers deposited "at the end of steel." On the mountain side a shack town sprang up in a few weeks,—tents, log boarding houses, gambling dens, dance halls, and saloons.

In a few weeks also appeared the red-coated mounted police, sent in by the Canadian government to keep order pending the appointment of a gold commissioner. The latter served the double duty of recording claims of prospectors and of administering the town affairs until the gold seekers could take sufficient time from prospecting to organize their own government. Within a year Fairmont had a main street leveled along the side of the mountain and made to look like an ordinary city street, paid for by the voluntary contributions of merchants, gamblers, and saloon proprietors. A two story hotel was built by a celebrated adventuress who had been frequently divorced but still retained most of her ex-husbands in her employ.

The streets were thronged with a cosmopolitan crowd eager to make their fortunes quickly. The old experienced miners were out on the hills breaking off a bit of rock here and there, ever feverishly on the hunt for a good prospect. Gold brick miners remained in town around the saloons looking for the tenderfoot prospects,

usually young Englishmen with their belts full of pound notes. A little friendly conversation, a drink, perhaps a quiet game of poker or black jack and the young Englishman's belt of pound notes would shrink till only his belt remained. Occasionally the tenderfoot, thinking himself very wise, would avoid the bright lights of the saloons and gambling dens, only to fall into the hands of the sham miner who would show him a wonderful prospect—one salted for such an occasion with genuine gold quartz. The miner would accept with reluctance a few thousand dollars for this "very sure thing" and disappear as soon as the deal was closed.

Some mining companies sent their own qualified diamond drillers to prospect, others bought up prospects of individual men who wished to sell, so that within a few months after the rush started several American and English companies were on the ground, thousands of dollars worth of expensive machinery was being installed, and hundreds of men employed as miners. And still the people flowed in,—every month bringing an influx from distant countries. Miners of many nationalities were in the first rush from the United States, and as they gradually wrote to their compatriots of the new gold town a new migration would be started. Experienced miners from Sweden, Norway, Italy and other European countries were added to the English, American, and French Canadians already there. Each nationality built its own little colony,—the Italians in the eastern part of town, the French Canadians in the western, the Norwegians and Swedes in the northern side. In a little over a year Fairmont was incorporated, and began to elect City Fathers, build roads, and install electric lights and a water system. It had probably three or four thousand people,—it is difficult to say just how many, for no reliable census could be

taken in a town of such a mobile population. Even a voters' list could not be accurately made until after the biggest boom period was over and the town had settled down as a more or less regular mining community.

Unifying Forces. This period of rush and prospecting was, of course, highly disorganized. Adventurers and derelicts from all over the world, ambitious young men, plodding miners, gifted and able older men with some fatal failing which they thought to leave behind them in this new undertaking, all kinds rubbed shoulders as they milled around in the main street and the saloons and dance halls. Only a few unifying forces stand out.

One of these was the Union. The American Federation of Labor had experienced organizers on the ground from the early part of the rush, and these were assisted by able leaders in each national group. When a new Italian miner arrived he naturally looked for other Italians and these warned him to "join up" at once. And so, though the national groups were antagonistic in everything else, they were keenly conscious of their unity in this respect. They depended on the Union leaders for many services in a foreign land, and this served to bind them to a kind of organization to which few, if any, had ever belonged before. And as the town settled down to more normal life it rapidly became the most powerful force in this new mining community.

Another unifying factor was Father John. This gifted, scholarly Anglican clergyman with his university degrees made his appearance in the town during the first months of the rush, and went about quietly doing good. No one in distress appealed to him in vain. He would always buy a hungry man a meal, pay for a bed for a gambler who had staked his last coin and lost, help a drunken youth who had fallen by the wayside, take him to his

home, nurse him, advise him, cheer him and help him to make a new start in life. He would walk miles to nurse a sick miner in a lonely prospector's hut. Father John, as he was affectionately called, was respected and loved by every rough miner in that camp. If he heard that some boy was in a gambling den and in danger of losing all his savings, he would immediately enter and do his utmost to persuade the boy to leave. While Father John was in the gambling house, all evil language was suppressed, and any miner or tin-horn gambler who forgot himself in language or deportment while Father John was present, would be severely punished by the other miners after the clergyman's departure. It was impossible for Father John's friends to keep him in anything but overalls, as he constantly gave away all the good black suits and overcoats they provided for his use during the severely cold weather. He always found some "down and out" who needed the warm clothes more than he did.

Father John had one great failing. Once or twice a year he went on a long drinking bout. It only affected his equilibrium for he could preach quite as well drunk as sober. The miners rather liked this failing as they felt it excused their own drunken brawls. And so notwithstanding Father John's weakness, the miners contributed enough money and labor to build a church for him with a small room behind the church in which he lived. He was essentially a boom town preacher, however, and as Fairmont became more orderly he moved on to another pioneer field.

The Struggle for Social Status. The various national groups, as they grew in size, raised money and built small community halls which they used for religious services, dances, or for any other purpose. Gradually other churches and a Salvation Army Hall followed.

At first Fairmont was a man's town, and with the exception of the dance hall girls and the boarding house matrons there were not many women there. When a public or benefit dance was given, it was not attended by the respectable women,—merely by the respectable and "not respectable" men who brought women of the demi-monde with them. The respectable husbands explained to their wives that it was their (the husbands') duty to attend all public functions to keep themselves before the public for the sake of professional and business interests. In two or three years there were enough wives to control the invitations to private, church, or benefit dances and the questionable and doubtful women were no longer admitted. Two young men of high social position thought they would defy this unspoken law and appeared at a church benefit dance with two girls of questionable reputation. When the orchestra played the opening number, the two couples were the only ones who appeared on the floor. All the other women refused to dance and persisted in their refusal until the men in desperation sought the floor committee and compelled them to ask the two young men with the offending girls to leave. Thus ended the public régime of the demi-monde in Fairmont.

After two or three years the wildest rush of the boom was over, and it began to look as though Fairmont was going to become a permanent mining town of some four or five thousand people. Gradually more and more mine officials and miners began bringing their wives and establishing homes. The business and professional classes remained longer a group of floating, unattached men, because they were, of course, less assured of work. With this growth as a "married men's mining town," the various national and economic groups settled down into social circles. And since this was such a heterogeneous town

dominated by the English with their insistence on social status, there developed different social circles of varying gradations and most of them mutually exclusive.

The officials of the mines and their wives, some twenty or thirty families, lived in beautiful modern homes on the top of Centre Star Mountain which was an hour's strenuous climb from the city proper. They enjoyed the highest altitude and the highest social position. Their husbands received their appointments from the head office in a larger city, so it was absolutely safe for them to scorn and snub all the professional, business and working classes who lived in the business and residential centers lower down on the side of the mountain. So rigidly were the lines drawn by this exclusive social set, that a great deal of bitter feeling and misunderstanding was produced among those who felt themselves unjustly discriminated against in the sharp struggle to attain social distinction.

The second social group included lawyers, doctors, real estate, and insurance people, about thirty or forty families at first but gradually decreasing in number. Those in this group were occasionally smiled on by the first social circle, especially when their services were needed in putting on a flower show, art exhibition, or other philanthropic effort that required numbers as well as exclusiveness to make it successful. There were a number of young unmarried men holding official positions who were enthusiastically entertained by both the first and second social sets. The women of these two groups did not forget their unmarried sisters in the East or in England, but invited them for year-long visits. With the aid of bridge parties, stimulating cocktails and rose-shaded lights, the more highly favored of these spinsters found husbands among the unmarried mine officials.

A third social group, larger than the first and second

combined, included the wives of business men, dentists, small manufacturers, clerks, and teachers. There were not such sharp lines of distinction between the second and third social circles as between the two highest groups. The women of the second social set perhaps felt that they must be very discreet with the women in the set just below them so as not to injure in any way their husbands' business or professional interests. Once or twice a year they threw this group a social bribe in the way of an invitation to a large and informal tea where it was not necessary to introduce guests.

The miners and their families which would naturally form the fourth social class were as a matter of fact so sharply divided into racial and national groups that social intercourse between them was at a minimum. The men had a common meeting ground in the Union, but the women of one nationality would not associate with those of another. The British and American miners' wives had no use for the snobbish women of the upper social sets and they felt much superior to the women of the non-English speaking nationalities. Among the latter, the Italians held the dominant position because of their numbers and skill as miners. The French Canadians lost caste through their fear of the mines which compelled them to accept low paying jobs on the outside. The Slavonians and Serbians were largely a non-family group who lived in unsanitary quarters and clung tightly to their money so that they could save one thousand dollars as soon as possible and return to their old homes in Europe. While they were Roman Catholics, they had little to do with the church because they did not wish to lessen their savings by contributing to its support. The Scandinavians lived in a small neighborhood of their own on the outskirts of the town where they could keep their cows,

pigs, and chickens. Their wives peddled milk and eggs as a means of supplementing the family income. They were Protestants but never attended church. The only time they had any prestige in the town was during ice carnival week when they would capture all the ski prizes offered to the men, women, and children.

In a class entirely by themselves at the very bottom of the social ladder was a small colony of Chinese segregated from the rest of the people. The Chinese were cooks in private families, operated laundries, and cultivated small market gardens. Their colony boasted three general stores which had back parlors without windows used as gambling dens. In the early boom days in Fairmont, if the town treasury became somewhat depleted, the firemen were sworn in as special police and aided by the other officers of the law, would raid a Chinese gambling house, arrest and fine heavily all the Chinese they could find and thus secure the funds needed. During the administration of Mayor Barry, the Chinese were allowed to gamble all day and all night if they so desired. The old mayor declared: "It does not matter in the least which Chinaman wins the largest stakes. Let them gamble."

The groups that were Roman Catholic attended the services of that church, but this common religious interest did not promote social relationships between the different classes. A French Canadian family would live beside an Italian family year after year and still remain as aloof as apartment house dwellers in a large city. Even on the occasion of the Miners' Union Picnic, which was attended by everybody, group lines were rigidly maintained. No one dared stay away for fear of incurring the enmity of the Union. Ostensibly it was a great get-together for all the people of the community and to the

outside observer all were mingling on terms of equality. But beneath all the jollity of the occasion, the old jealousies and enmities remained. The various foreign groups attended through loyalty to their Union and the more prosperous citizens helped make the day a financial success as a matter of business policy. The picnic was not intended to break down social barriers and when the festivities were over, the old class lines were drawn as tightly as before.

Political Conflict. With the growth of the power of the Miners' Union and the change to more permanent conditions, there was a shift in the governing class and a rise of the Union to political power. At first the city fathers had been mine officials or men of private incomes who were waiting for quick returns on investments in mines or real estate; nobody else felt sufficiently permanent or interested to participate in the town government. But when it became apparent that Fairmont was settling down to be a town of four or five thousand instead of becoming the big city everybody had once thought it would be, this class lost interest in local governmental affairs. On the other hand, this same stabilizing process had made the professional men and merchants more settled and more interested in local politics so that for several years the Council was made up of this class.

But presently the Union, growing actually stronger in numbers and relatively more so, as men prominent in other lines left town, decided to elect labor representatives on the Council. The other citizens felt that it would be unwise for the Union to invade local politics. The result was a hotly contested election, not between conservative and liberal, or Catholic and Protestant as heretofore, but between the Miners' Union and every other citizen. A wordy war was waged until election day with charges and

counter charges by partisans on both sides. Bets and bribes were the order of the day. One wealthy citizen went around buying votes at two dollars each. Betting made trade brisk in the saloons and consequently there were more drunken brawls and disorderly conduct than usual.

At last election day arrived. All hotels and saloons were closed until the results were announced. A number of special policemen were brought in from other towns as the excitement was now so high that the local policemen had taken opposing sides and were ready at the slightest provocation to fight with each other. To add to the confusion, this was the first time the women had the right to vote in a local election. Many of the women, both cultured and illiterate, were timid about going to a polling-booth and marking their ballot. To overcome this difficulty a competent woman citizen rode in each sleigh which was detailed to carry women voters to the polls. Much pleading and persuading were necessary before the women could be induced to exercise their right of suffrage. Two or three hundred school boys paraded the business streets, shouting for the miners' candidates. A lawyer who was a citizens' candidate noticed his own twelve-year-old son running with the mob and shouting for the miners. He called his son to him and inquired, "Why are you not shouting for your own father and his friends?" "Gosh, father," said the boy, "they gave me a dollar to shout for them." When the election was over and the ballots counted, it was found that the miners had elected three aldermen while the citizens' party had elected the three remaining aldermen and their candidate for mayor. Both sides felt that they had won the victory and in a few days all settled back into their customary routine with few outward signs of class conflict.

The mayor who won this election was for some eight or ten years of this more settled period almost an institution in Fairmont,—certainly he was a unifying factor of importance in this divergent, disorganized town. Elderly, Irish, jovial, everybody's friend, he played his old-fashioned violin solos for the Anglican church or for the Swedish concerts, and if sufficiently urged, would do some fancy Irish step-dancing at his club's smokers. Having a small income and a great deal of time on his hands, he became a sort of paternal mayor to all the many groups. Everybody, especially the foreigners, came to him with all their troubles and worries—"Would Mayor Barry please show them how to get a certificate of title for their house lot, how to bank their money, how to insure their lives," and a hundred other things besides. He had to keep the citizens' aldermen and the Union aldermen conciliated in the Council; worse job, he had to keep the Union national groups conciliated, for, though they worked together in the Union and to elect aldermen, those who considered themselves superior despised the others, and the latter hated the former. He must be present at the fêtes of the various national groups—not long to be sure, for his presence and that of his daughter made for a sort of restraint, but he must at least drop in. Besides extra-official and official duties, he constituted himself a sort of guardian of defrauded miners. On pay nights, once a month, the saloons and hotels reaped a golden harvest, but some, not satisfied, would go beyond even the reckless spending of the drinking men and often take their whole check. If the defrauded man was not too drunk to remember which saloon or hotel it was, he would make a great outcry and run to "Mayor Barry" with his tale of woe. The mayor for the sake of the man's family would take him and a policeman to the hotel and compel the

bar-keeper to give back the check or its equivalent in cash.

It was this taking of the part of the men that caused his downfall, and as it illustrates something of the character of the place, the story may be given here. The saloon men, angry at his interference with their profits, longed for a chance to discredit him. At length it came through a protégé of his, an educated and promising young miner whom the mayor had made tax-collector. After a year or so he began drinking and gambling, and was so furious when reprimanded that he arranged with the saloon men a plot to disgrace the mayor just before the approaching election. He was given a drink of doped wine, and the young man led him through the streets, at the busiest hour, pretending to be taking him home, so that the people might see the spectacle of their white-haired, dignified mayor drunk. He was overwhelmed with the disgrace, withdrew from the election, and the hotel men rushed in one of their number and elected him. After a year of this rule the citizens asked the ex-mayor to run again, but he refused, urging instead a young business man who wanted to get into politics. Through the ex-mayor's support of his candidacy, this young man carried through his campaign successfully. Among his first official acts after his election was his discharge of the tax collector for incompetency and his refusal to renew the license of the hotel man who had helped disgrace the former mayor.

The next great political fight in the town occurred in 1910 over the proposed establishment of a Protestant hospital which involved the churches and clergymen and priests in a bitter struggle. The Catholic hospital which had been in operation for some years opposed a new one because it would divide the patronage. The alignment

was not strictly along religious lines, although it was clearly recognized to be a religious issue. Some Protestants who had been cared for in the Catholic hospital felt unwilling to vote against the institution that had saved their lives, while some Catholics who felt that they had been overcharged for services rendered, thought that a competitive institution would be a good thing for the town. The Catholics finally won the election and the Protestant hospital was not built.

Decline of the Town. About 1911, some of the mine owners began to realize that the grade of ore was too low to make the mining and smelting a paying investment. A number of the smaller mines closed down and their employees moved on to other places. The following year one of the three largest mining companies that had invested too heavily in expensive machinery, went into bankruptcy and threw hundreds of men out of employment. This mine was closed for a year and then sold to another company which conducted it with a much reduced force.

The remaining miners, still over a thousand strong, became increasingly discontented with their situation and finally struck for more pay and shorter hours. The few who did not join the strikers were persecuted and their children scorned and called "scabs" at school. The company officials brought in a train load of Missourians as strike breakers, but they were so pelted with sticks and stones as they returned to their box cars after their first shift that they refused the next day to go back to work. The merchants were compelled to give credit to the strikers lest they incur their ill-will, and this method of doing business forced a number of stores to the wall. During the tempestuous year of the strike, many merchants and miners left town, thus decreasing still further

its constantly dwindling population. Finally a new mine manager was sent to Fairmont, a man of strong personality and ability, who renewed negotiations with the officials of the Miners' Union and brought about a settlement of the strike.

But the town never recovered from that disastrous year. The churches that had settled down to steady work were now in bad shape financially and with their greatly lessened membership, could not be reëstablished on their former basis. Two branch banks had moved away, and most of the lawyers and other professional men had left or did soon afterward. The value of property decreased, rents were low, and large numbers of houses stood unoccupied. Taxes were high and property that was formerly very valuable reverted to the town government for the non-payment of taxes.

To the great disappointment of the property holders, the business affairs of the town continued their rapid decline in spite of all efforts to stem the tide. The remaining mining companies began taking the ore to smelters in another town five miles away, so that more men were thrown out of jobs. Then came the war in 1914, which threw its dark shadow over Fairmont as it did over all other towns, large or small, in Canada. A number of the young men and a few of the older ones immediately enlisted. As the war dragged on year after year, the demand for gold quartz fell off and the mining companies discharged workers until less than a hundred miners were left at Fairmont, just enough to keep the valuable equipment in order. The mines have not been reopened since the war.

While prosperity continued in Fairmont, human beings spun giddily and strenuously in their own social circle. After a time, when the mines began to close, and the popu-

lation dwindled, the few remaining people found it lonely spinning in a social circle with few companions. The first social set on top of Centre Star Mountain and the second social circle of professional people gradually amalgamated, and as the group grew smaller, the third social circle of business people was absorbed in the desperate effort to provide the semblance of social life.

During the war the women, for the first time in the history of the town, all belonged to one organization, the Red Cross. The miner's wife, the merchant's, the lawyer's, Protestant, Catholic, clubwoman, and washerwoman, all knitted and stitched and made bandages. But after the war this spirit of comradeship ceased and soon they did not know each other as they passed on the street. As the town lost mines and business the character of the town council gradually declined until the people finally elected an alderman who could not read or write. The town became unable to meet its obligations, for even the taxes paid by the mining companies were not sufficient to pay its debts. Affairs are approaching a crisis at the present time and the town may soon be turned over to a government receiver.

A short time ago an effort was made to attract people by offering to give away 150 lots that had reverted to the town. Rows of stores are boarded up, scores of houses are standing empty, and a fire recently swept unhindered through its deserted streets. There are now about one hundred people living in Fairmont, still hoping that the mining companies will decide to reopen the mines. The gold is there, and when it becomes profitable to mine ore of low grade, Fairmont may again become a mecca for those in search of wealth. Then it may repeat its cycle of rise and decline as a mining town.

CHAPTER V

ROXBURY: FROM VILLAGE HOMOGENEITY TO URBAN HETEROGENEITY

Introductory Note. The process of community growth and expansion which for various reasons was stunted in the small communities previously described, can be seen more completely in this transformation from a colonial village to a congested industrial district of a large city. While it is generally assumed that the small town's dullness and sterility are a direct result of its failure to grow in size, it is apparent from this study of Roxbury that successful growth may carry with it problems as serious as those that accompany stagnation. For about two hundred years this suburb of Boston maintained its unique and sharply defined character as a primary village community centering about a common religious interest. During all its early history its growth was slow and the traditional customs and means of control continued their sway. Then about the middle of last century its rate of growth was accelerated with the result that the town began to assume an urban character. The rapid influx of industry and immigrants during the latter half of that century completed the change to secondary relations and caused the break-up of the community into many small temporary groups. Extreme mobility accompanied this industrial development, and soon the old homogeneous neighborhoods began to lose their former character. In this new régime, interests become so widely dispersed that few people lived within walking distance of

their work, their church, their social clubs, or even their friends. This change from the self-sufficient social unit of earlier days to absorption into the aggregate life of a great city has brought with it problems of disorganization characteristic of the congested areas of great urban centers. In such a brief analysis of a community whose history covers three hundred years, it has not been possible to set forth all the significant facts in its development. As far as the early period is concerned, this case study presents nothing more than occasional glimpses into certain aspects of the community life of the past which throws light on its course of development and its essential features. The story of its later years as a congested industrial suburb is concerned primarily with problems of social disorganization. If other phases of the situation could have been included also in this description, the picture would be more complete, but its fundamental character would not be materially changed. With the growing complexity of the community under urban conditions, the old types of social control lost their power and disorganization appeared in various forms. Judged from the point of view of those who cling to the old traditions, the present situation seems unendurable and points clearly to deterioration of the most deplorable sort. Perhaps to the new generation the existing condition of affairs would seem less complicated and unsatisfactory, if institutions long since outgrown could be replaced by others more in accord with the new order. A community whose traditions for generations centered around Congregational belief and worship now finds itself populated by Catholics and Jews and others to whom the old religious institutions have no meaning. The small, homogeneous group of the past has been replaced by a crowded population representing various immigrant peoples bound together by no common ties

comparable to those that were effective during the earlier years of its history.

Early Settlement. The colony of Rocksborough was founded in 1630 largely by substantial farmers from Nazing, an Essex parish twenty miles from London. These worthy fathers of the colony were enterprising, industrious and frugal. They at once set about building houses, with a "meeting-house" as a center of community life. Their toil must have been rugged and unceasing to overcome the handicap of harsh climate and rocky soil, for in this section there is an outcropping of glacier-scarred, conglomerate rock known as "pudding-stone." But with characteristic force the staunch pioneers not only established themselves in somewhat austere surroundings, but even named the settlement for its most prominent natural feature. They were united by their common blood; their common form of faith, Congregationalism; their common memories; and their common hardships and dangers.

From the first the problem of adapting their former mode of life to the crude conditions existing in the new settlement proved to be a difficult task for the colonists. Living had to be simplified, separated as they were from shops and markets by the width of the Atlantic, and by an even more impassable economic barrier. For the settlers had staked their fortunes on their adventure. In many cases it took all their savings to pay passage for their families and livestock. If they were able they were encouraged to invest in the common stock of the colony, and this paid no negotiable dividends. An early record lists grants of land, fifty acres to each man who paid his own passage, fifty additional acres if he had brought servants, and two hundred acres to each investor of fifty pounds sterling. Land values were equalized, salt marsh

being most valuable, no doubt because it furnished hay which is essential in a climate where cattle cannot be pastured in winter. Forest was deemed of least value, since clearing it with primitive tools was arduous and even dangerous because of hostile Indians hovering in its shadow. Thus one acre of marsh was worth two of pasture or corn land and ten of wood land.

To offset the scarcity of money, grain and skins were bartered, and wampum, the bead currency of the Indians, was in quite general use. The colony authorized John Hull to establish a mint in 1650, though this was a usurpation of the rights of sovereign states. Popular as Hull's "Pine Tree" shillings became, it was voted in 1677 that "corn among ourselves shall pass current and be paid and received from man to man—corn 3s., pease 2s. 8d., barley and malt 5s. 6d., rye 4s."

Clothing was mostly of home-made woolen fabrics, though the cut conformed to prevailing English style. Enactments are recorded for over a century against "excessive wearing of lace and other superfluities tending to the nourishing of pride and the exhausting of men's estates." One woman had to prove in court that she was worth two hundred pounds before she was allowed to wear a silk hood to church.

Dwellings were at first a square of logs chinked with mud and roofed with thatch. These gave way to frame buildings, two stories in front, but with the shingled roof sloping to make one story at the back, and beginning with King Philip's War, the second story projected a foot or two over the first to enable householders to pour boiling water upon any Indians who tried to enter.

It had been the firm intention of the colonists to convert the red men to Christianity, and it is greatly to their credit that under the leadership of John Eliot, their pas-

tor, they actually accomplished this in many instances. At least they so far overcame the obstacles of language and culture as to earn the respect and friendship of the Indians, who in turn taught them much of practical value. But with blunders and suspicions on both sides enmity could not always be avoided and their agricultural labors were often interrupted by Indian warfare.

The settlement bore its full share in the Revolutionary War. It furnished the first company of Minute Men, and later at least two more companies were raised and maintained, though there had been property loss and damage incident to fighting and to occupation by soldiers. There were several forts and entrenchments where occurred encounters with the British. One woman wrote: "Rocksborough looks more injured than Boston. Its houses look more torn to pieces."

At the end of the war Roxbury was still a country village whose chief dependence was upon husbandry. According to a contemporary account it possessed at that time, "213 dwellings, 18 tan houses and slaughter houses, 1 chocolate mill, 2 grist mills, 167 barns, 160 cornhouses and smaller buildings, 3 meeting houses of the Congregational denomination, 1 grammar school and 4 other schools."

Development of Communication. One of the problems confronting the town during the early part of the nineteenth century was that of road building. Road taxes were "worked out" by each property owner until 1816. In 1824 some of the streets were paved and a few sidewalks built, and the following year no less than forty streets were named, mostly as a memorial to founders of the colony. Four years later the "Mill-Dam" was opened. This was the first artificial road connecting Boston with the mainland. Before this all traffic had to go over the

Neck, which was scarcely more than a sand dune and at particularly high tides was submerged so as to be impassable in the narrowest places. The new road, one and one-half miles long, was designed with the double purpose of furnishing a highway and of providing water power for mills which were to be built along the dam and flooded area. There was never sufficient water power to carry on the numerous projects so hopefully planned, and leave was finally obtained to drain the flooded land. In 1832 Tremont Street was laid out, affording another connection with Boston though at cost of great opposition among merchants doing business on the Neck. Opposition also came from some of the property owners who were unwilling to have their fields so disfigured. One citizen was so much disturbed that the street was not carried far enough to connect with Dedham Turnpike, as it was designed to do. However, individualism was obliged to give way before the common good, for in another generation railroad tracks were laid across the cherished meadows of the irascible farmer.

On the whole the life of the town was agreeably stimulated by the increasing ease of communication. After the opening of the Mill Dam there was an hourly stage coach connecting Roxbury Town House with Old South Church in Boston for a fare of twelve and one-half cents. Boston was then connected with New York by a line of coaches via Providence. In 1834 the Providence Railroad supplanted the coaches, and in 1856 horse-drawn street cars were first used for local transportation.

Intercommunity Relations. Roxbury sent representatives to the first Provincial Congress, and from the beginning did her part in carrying out intercommunity enterprise. She was vigorous in asserting her rights, however, and was not to be intimidated by a bigger and more

powerful neighbor, as is shown by a contemporary anecdote.

> In 1832 Boston went extensively into the carrion and garbage business and furnished the provant for a legion of hogs (which were located in Roxbury). The carrion carts of the metropolis *eundo redeundo et manuendo* dropping filth and fatness as they went, became an abominable nuisance. . . . The proprietor of this colossal hog sty with his burnery of bones and other fragrant contrivances, created a stench unknown among men since the bituminous conflagration of Sodom and Gomorrah. . . . Four town meetings were held on this subject. Roxbury calmly remonstrated, Boston doggedly persisted, and at last, patience having had its perfect work, the carrion carts were met by the yeomanry on the line and driven back to Boston. Complaint was made, the Grand Jury of Norfolk found bills against the owner of the hogs and the city of Boston. Both were duly convicted and entered into written obligation to sin no more in this wise.

Community Solidarity. The town was now growing beyond the point where primary relations might be expected to exist, but to a surprising extent they continued until the middle of the century. Interest could no longer center about one church, but it was concerned chiefly with one faith. Though in 1820 a Baptist church was founded and twelve years later an Episcopal church succeeded in establishing itself, religious thought was still largely swayed by the four Congregational fellowships.

But if the roof on one church could no longer shelter the entire community, at least all the male citizens could, and did, congregate in the Town House on the least provocation. No matter what important private business might be on hand, it must be dropped instantly when a town meeting was called, and such assemblies occurred for seemingly trivial causes.

While community solidarity was thus largely effected through interest in civic affairs, there were many other contributing causes. The chief of these was, no doubt, common blood and tradition which still largely prevailed. Loyalty was fostered by pride in a military organization which flourished for seventy years after the Revolution, latterly under the name of Norfolk Guards. Nearly every family contributed to it either in sons or in money, and with its band and resplendent uniforms it was in great demand for parades and fête days. Another important organization was that of the Masons. Washington Lodge was founded in 1796 and was of definite social value all through the nineteenth century. It is still a strong lodge, but its prestige in the community has dwindled with the wane of Protestantism.

There was also much pleasant, unorganized social contact, for this period following the Revolution was the most leisurely in the history of Roxbury. To be sure there was reconstruction to be undertaken and the new business of government to be learned. But this was ease and elegance compared either to the unremitting labor and hardships of pioneer days or to the haste and complexity of the industrialized life that was to come. Thus leisure and habits of social drinking combined to offer an excuse for gathering at taverns. The town boasted many of these, mostly catering to a very democratic clientele. Punch Bowl Tavern, famous all over New England, will suffice as an example. Its name was derived from the device on the swinging sign, a name that in turn was bestowed upon the whole neighborhood, which was long known locally as Punch Bowl Village. It was on a road where much heavy teaming was done, and so came to be a popular place of refreshment for man and beast. It was a favorite resort for British officers before the Revolu-

tion, and for many years a fashionable rendezvous. After a dancing floor was put in, it was the scene of gay parties as well as of less formal gatherings.

About the year 1830 there seems to have been a marked interest in civic improvements. A Board of Health was appointed, the Fire Department was reorganized and enlarged, and the town became sufficiently articulate to publish a newspaper. Perhaps the most radical changes were those in the educational system. Schools had always had an important place, second only to the church. A few years before an act had provided free books to the children of paupers. Early in the century the study of the Constitution was made a required part of the curriculum. But now books were furnished by the town to every child; pressure was brought to bear on truancy; and school visiting committees were formed. The appropriations of more funds, redistricting, and lengthened terms with fewer holidays were some of the innovations.

Material improvement began to be noticeable in the private lives of the citizens. While many still lived quietly there was increasing display among a few, which inevitably raised the standards of living of all classes. Mansions were erected and so elaborately furnished with rich importations as to seem strangely at variance with the simplicity of civic and social usages. Swinging crystal chandeliers, marble mantles and staircases, gilded cornices, mural and ceiling decorations, paneling of tropical woods,—these are but a few of the details that formed the background for oriental rugs, French furniture and china, and the family heritages of portraits, books and silver in many homes of the period. Coaches-and-four and other elegant equipages began to appear upon the streets.

As wealth increased there were indications of a developing intellectuality. The first public library was built in

1805 and was followed in 1872 by Fellowes Athenaeum. Prior to this time, however, there were many fine private libraries. Courses of lectures and concerts were given annually under the auspices of an association representing intellectual and esthetic interests. The churches also sponsored similar courses which attained wide popularity. An artistic group gathered about Gilbert Stuart, some of whose portraits are still cherished in Roxbury families. The community traditions furnished fertile soil for philanthropy, whose outstanding exponents were William Lloyd Garrison and Edward Everett Hale. The largest group represented the field of letters; though many individuals achieved contemporary fame, their names are unfamiliar to us since their writings are concerned with theological dogma and other outgrown topics.

The Brook Farm Experiment. One of the most interesting social experiments ever tried in this country took place in Roxbury. In 1841 a group of thinkers, predominantly writers, though representing many other professions, associated themselves together to live out the communistic theory of Fourier. This brilliant group of men and women was at first called "The Brook Farm Institute of Education and Agriculture," and later "The Brook Farm Phalanx." They bought a tract of two hundred acres in a rural part of the town which has since become the separate political unit of West Roxbury. Here they built houses and cultivated the land, sharing in all the tasks, however menial. Each house was supposed to shelter a distinct cultural group; musicians in one, artists in another, and so on. All property was held in common though each member might retain in his own right property owned elsewhere. Every one must work so many hours each day on the farm or at some form of productive labor. Commodities raised or produced were

exchanged, and any surplus sold. Large revenue was expected from the tuition of pupils, for education was a definite part of the plan.

Nathaniel Hawthorne lived at Brook Farm for some months and wrote entertainingly of it in his "Blythedale Romance." He later came to feel that in spite of delectable visions of the spiritualization of labor, "the clods of earth which we so constantly belabored and turned over were never etherealized into thought." It seems likely that the other members came to share Hawthorne's sentiments, inasmuch as the community was never able to pay for itself. After six years of life it was disbanded and the property was sold to the town for a Poor Farm. This socialistic experiment within the geographical boundaries of Roxbury had little if any influence upon the community. However, the support given it by many Roxbury citizens indicates their high moral and intellectual interests, for such an undertaking could only have been carried out by a group animated by the most idealistic motives.

Beginnings of Disorganization. Simultaneously with the greatest evidences of community solidarity we see the faint beginnings of changes which appear one to three generations later as distinctly disorganizing factors. The town was rapidly becoming urban, or at least suburban. The increase of prosperity and growth of population caused a rise in land values, and while the real land boom did not come until later, there was considerable speculation in real estate, and in 1836 the Roxbury Land Company was formed. Some conflict arose over land transfers. One such case was that of the Old Fort lot, which was offered to the town at a low figure, at a time when the Fort was still in a good state of preservation. The authorities were in a parsimonious, or perhaps a utilitarian

mood, and rejected the offer, but not without stirring up some hard feeling. Ultimately the lot was purchased by the town for a reservoir, but in the erection of a standpipe the remains of the Fort were obliterated, since they were just so many loads of dirt to the Water Commission. The deplorable thing, viewed from the distance of a century, is not the loss of a Revolutionary landmark so much as the entering wedge of discord.

The first evidence of breakdown of control, which is the disorganizing factor most prominent in Roxbury to-day, occurred in church life. In the early days practically all control was exerted through the church, and an effective means it proved to be. Church attendance was enforced by fining and placing in the stocks all backsliders. The minister and officers of the church constituted a final court of appeal in most secular matters as well as in those pertaining to religion. The cost and labor of maintaining the church buildings was shared by all the colony, and the minister was supported at public expense. Inevitably as civic means of control arose, the authority of the church diminished. Early in the nineteenth century the support of the minister and of the church became voluntary, and church attendance was no longer required. One of the signs of material prosperity in the crucial years around 1830 was the building of more and bigger churches, although in at least one instance conservative heads wagged solemnly, for, it was said, the old church was "not half worn out" and might better be repaired, at a saving to the parish. Not only were new denominations becoming entrenched, but other Congregational churches appeared, though in some instances the power of the church had so declined that only the old people were going to communion and young men were to be seen lounging about taverns or in the fields on the Lord's Day.

Transition to Urban Conditions. Growth was so rapid in the decade 1840-1850 that the population doubled. The City Charter was received in 1846. Industry underwent sudden expansion and change of character. In order to obtain more land for building sites, marshes were filled in, trees were cut, brooks and rivers disappeared, and farms were swallowed up. When Roxbury was annexed to Boston in 1867 it had very nearly lost its suburban character, largely because of the rise in real estate values. As factories were built the operatives sought homes near by, in out-of-date wooden houses where rents were low. These were soon supplemented by apartment and tenement houses. While in the agricultural days the ledge hills had been a hindrance, they now proved an advantage, since they afforded building room at different levels.

Immigration and Industrial Development. Industry had hitherto been concerned with useful production, as for example the rope, carpet, rubber, and lithograph factories. The operatives were from Northern Europe; largely Irish, Scotch and German. The first immigrants had been the Irish laborers brought over in 1818 to work on the Mill Dam. Each racial group at first had a fairly well-defined neighborhood as near as possible to its work, and brought traditions of thrift and religious belief. There was no hostility toward these newcomers; in fact, they were at first quite readily assimilated by the churches, since they were all Protestants with the exception of the Irish. This latter group resisted efforts at Americanization, because they were discouraged from associating with people of other faiths. They therefore took little part in civic life until their prestige was established by the power of the Roman Catholic Democrats in Boston politics.

Largely because of the good water which underlay the soil, breweries increased in size and number until in 1875 there were twenty along the Stony Brook Valley. These were managed and operated chiefly by Germans who lived in the vicinity, but they were of a type inferior to the German artisans of high character and skill who comprised the earlier group. The tendency of this brewing interest was to lower the grade of the community and was one reason why the operatives of the other factories gradually moved away. The brewers, who accumulated great wealth, "did not plow back any of their gains into the district," and most of them moved to communities of a different social order. "Many of the operatives had been injured in their family status by their patronage of the product of the breweries and this helped to depress the character of the neighborhood."

By the end of the century the congestion already apparent was greatly increased by pressure from South Boston, which was reaching the saturation point of population and industry. This adjoining part of Boston was bounded on two sides by the Atlantic and on the third side by an expanding commercial district and had no choice but to spill over into the only place that afforded elbow-room. South Boston's contribution was largely non-Protestant and gave great impetus to the rapidly-growing Roman Catholic interests.

Another current which flowed in as a result of the changed type of industry and cheap rents came from the North End, people from the weaker American stock, driven out by the industrial occupation of that neighborhood. Then came the Jews, after the Russian disturbances; Negroes from the West End; Letts and a considerable infusion of Poles.

Many Southern Europeans, notably Italians, Greeks,

Albanians and Armenians have come in the last thirty years to work in the shoe factories. The operatives do not all live in Roxbury, however, but come from all over Boston to their work. These factories are well-managed and have social features for their employees. The breweries are now used as warehouses, chocolate factories and printing establishments. This change in type of industry has not, however, noticeably affected the status of the district.

After the movement of population from South Boston, the torrent of immigration flowed in so fast that there could be no satisfactory solution of the housing problem, and no orderly racial grouping. Each family did the best it could for itself, finding some kind of living quarters as near as possible to a job and moving about when any hope of improvement offered. At first some attempt at assimilation was made, notably by the public schools, but this was defeated, at least in part by the churches. The adherents of the Roman faith could not sympathize with such a program, and the other churches were so anxiously trying to minister to the needs of the newcomers that many of them persisted in holding services in the Old World languages. Thus both groups were denied access to the culture of the community, by the very agencies most eager to be helpful.

To-day no racial lines are drawn except a slight tendency to segregation of Jews and Negroes in some sections. Many tenements and neighborhoods contain as many races as families, or possibly more since boarders are common. There are also boarding and lodging houses where the races mingle, although there exists no real boarding house district, except where Roxbury borders the South End and has become colored by the contact.

A brief review of the industrial situation may clarify

the complex changes that have taken place in Roxbury and will show that economic and social causes underlie these changes in about equal proportions. In the early days of the colony such industry as there was grew out of the needs of the community, existed for the sole purpose of supplying those needs, and was carried on by the colonists themselves, often in the intervals of farm work. In the first half of the nineteenth century industry increased, now being exploited for commercial profit, but producing useful articles. The services of a growing number of operatives were required, often of a highly skilled nature. This resulted in a steady increase of immigration from Northern Europe. Many of these newcomers were of a caliber to appreciate the traditions of the community, and since they came gradually enough to be assimilated they made a real and lasting contribution. The brewing interests brought less desirable immigrants, largely Southern Europeans, in too great numbers for absorption and otherwise started a downward tendency. The demand of the breweries for a low grade of labor, together with the proximity of tumbledown houses at a low rental, offered these less capable people a temporary means of subsistence. The influx of these alien hordes caused the outgoing of the older stock. Though the breweries have now disappeared through legislation and their places have been taken by other industries, the depressed status of Roxbury District seems incapable of righting itself.

Development of Social Agencies. Except for the churches there have been few "centers of uplift" in Roxbury. For fifty years the Family Welfare Society, largely maintained by people from other sections, has been an effective agency. There have been some Boys' Clubs and a Workingmen's Institute, but they have had little effect

on their patrons. Since the Boston Y. M. C. A. is near the Roxbury border, its facilities are available and considerable effort has been made, particularly by the churches, to interest young men in its activities. Some of the churches have attempted definite social work in their vicinity, without regard to religious belief, but these efforts have not had permanent value. The Roxbury Neighborhood House has served its immediate environs as a social settlement.

The most effective undenominational force is probably the Norfolk House Center in John Eliot Square, practically on the grounds of the first meeting-house. To quote from the annual report for 1925: "We have completed our twelfth year at Norfolk House with a program which includes handicrafts, music, arts, dramatics, domestic science, physical education, clubs and recreational activities . . . with a total membership of 1,744. During the summer the demand for our attractive playground was so great that nearly three hundred children had to be turned away. . . . Our federation with the Boston Social Union brought our members into many contacts outside neighborhood life. Our handicraft classes exhibited with others. The music students participated in monthly inter-neighborhood concerts. The basket-ball teams entered a city-wide tournament. Intersettlement dramatics and dances, the joint meetings of clubs, indoor or outdoor meets, and the annual garden competition at Horticultural Hall, together with scout activities of a general nature, furthered our purpose of a widening range of interests and gave zest to our local efforts. Our continued federation with the Boston Council of Social Agencies focussed our attention on the larger aspects of social work in Boston." The staff includes five full-time workers and over fifty on a part-time basis, with nearly as many volunteer

helpers. The library, a survival of Fellowes Athenaeum, has a staff of four librarians, and an annual circulation of nearly 50,000 volumes, including 250 in foreign languages. The annual budget, which amounted to $37,000 in 1926, is met by donations, funds and legacies, in addition to $8,000 earned by the Center. The list of contributors includes sixty clubs and churches and well over a thousand individuals, many outside of Roxbury. The report for 1926 tells us: "Perhaps the most striking addition to the work has been the admission, on an autonomous basis, of groups of Lettish-Americans who seemed ten years ago to be a markedly separate and alien factor in the community life."

The most recent non-institutional attempt to organize for community betterment was made in the first decade of the century, under the name of the Roxbury Improvement Society. However, it not only failed of its purpose, but, largely due to politics, it created even more difficulties.

Deterioration and Migration. Until recently there have been two fairly distinct sections within Roxbury District. The oldest, on the soil of the first settlement, contained most of the factories and the homes of the operatives. Its status has been depressed by the breweries and the crossing of railroad lines. Until lately it had the greater share of non-Americans. The other section first comprised the farms, the pastures and woodland, and was the logical site for banks, churches and stores. It became the aristocratic neighborhood of the expanding city. But to-day a stranger could hardly distinguish between them. Streets are equally unkempt, racial types show as marked deviation, crowding is as noticeable.

Most of the vacant land has already been used, so that the only means of acquiring more building space is by

crowding into yards and between buildings. The jumbled irregularity of appearance is the least deplorable result. On alleys and low streets many houses have outside rooms nearly as dark and airless as the unlighted inner rooms or those whose windows open on "wells." When the old mansions and more substantial houses come on the market they are quickly bought at a fraction of their cost and superficially adapted for apartments or tenements. By dividing and subdividing the spacious rooms with cheap plaster board and adding a little plumbing, legal requirements are met and living quarters are obtained for several more families at a rental profitable to the new owner. Unsatisfactory as such homes may seem, they are much more desirable than the older type of tenement house built before the present standards of construction were in effect.

Many streets present the picture of close-packed buildings at various angles, some having about them shreds of beauty and dignity, others patently cheap and flimsy structures of no known type of architecture, in several stages of disrepair. Through the narrow spaces between houses may be glimpsed still more houses, as well as garages and shops that now fill what once were pleasant gardens. The streets themselves are untidy, for despite municipal scavenging the main thoroughfares, as well as parks and cemeteries, are littered with paper, fruit skins and even more objectionable refuse.

Many of the original families have become extinct, their only memorial being streets which were named in their honor, but which have fallen on such hard times that only dishonor comes of the association. Some of these have been renamed for World War "heroes," since the original names no longer had any meaning in the neighborhood. Such descendants of old families as there are

have practically all moved away, because they were no longer able to adapt themselves to the changes. It is significant that the Roxbury Latin School, historically famous as a preparatory school for Harvard, has recently moved to a more spacious suburb.

An interesting example of the loyalty of former residents, even though they no longer maintain their homes in Roxbury, is to be found in the support of churches and social agencies. Not only is theirs largely the burden of financial support, but they continue to come regularly, often from a distance of ten or fifteen miles, to services of worship and as officers and group leaders. Many lists of such workers show at least 50 per cent. of people no longer living within the limits of Roxbury, but who have its interests sufficiently at heart to give freely and sacrificially of their superior advantages to its welfare.

Demoralizing Influences. The constructive efforts, such as are put forth by Norfolk House and some of the churches, are very nearly offset by the so-called Athletic Clubs, which exert a great hold on youth. These clubs have sprung up in the last few years, some of them housed in shabby and ill-kept buildings, while others have a sufficient membership to warrant more commodious quarters and some equipment. "Athletic" is a misnomer or perhaps a camouflage, for the sole purpose of these clubs is social. The gambling, drinking, dancing and general viciousness emanating therefrom are constant and growing problems to the police.

The forerunner of such clubs seems to have been gangs. Twenty-five years ago there were several such groups of boys, the most notorious of which was the Highland Gang. Each gang congregated in its appointed haunt, usually at some street corner or in a local park, and spent evenings, Sundays and other free time loafing about, mak-

ing comments on passers-by, shooting craps, smoking, sometimes roaming around singing and talking boisterously. There was some pilfering and petty thieving at the time, but it was never proved that these gangs were responsible for any more serious offenses than mild disturbances and the frightening of women and small children. It is certain, however, that they were in the main a destructive force, for many of the members were in conflict with the police and courts, and otherwise revealed criminal tendencies.

Another example of individual demoralization, in addition to that of the Athletic Clubs, is to be found in the area traversed by the main railroad lines, and to a lesser degree along the Elevated. Here in the most draggled and unkempt homes to be found in the district are bred vice and crime. This is evident even in street types, furtive men and slatternly women, and small children with the swagger and vocabulary of toughs. A factor in demoralization is doubtless the low grade of commercial amusements, particularly movies and dance halls. There is little open lawlessness or turbulence. Well-behaved persons can go about freely in all sections without being molested.

The Last Stand of Congregationalism. Perhaps it is natural that as church life was the basis of the community it should be the last stronghold of tradition to be overcome. When Roxbury was founded as a Congregational colony the church was the center of community life, the means of social control, the reason for social contact, the guide for thinking, and the source of spiritual inspiration. No other forms of faiths were desired or even tolerated. Over a hundred years after the first settlement, a handful of Episcopalians asked for a site on which to build a church, but the petition was refused, "a true catholic

spirit toward brethren in the faith" being as yet unknown. More than a century was yet to elapse before other churches than the "orthodox" were to be admitted. By that time there was much agitation within the fold of Congregationalism due to the difference in thought between those of the Unitarian and evangelical beliefs. This finally resulted in a distinct cleavage and the establishment of separate bodies. The original "First Church" became Unitarian, while the other Congregational fellowships remained trinitarian.

For the sake of clarity and historic continuity a consideration of a particular church may be valuable, since it illustrates the changing conditions and yet is modified by blood and tradition to a greater extent than any other social institution in Roxbury. While some of the other churches, Hebrew and Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, are undoubtedly meeting the present need as well, they are comparative newcomers and so are of less value as a background of continuous social development. In their membership as well as in the growing number outside any church can be seen the workings of the new forces to a greater extent and with more rapidity than where these forces are held somewhat in check by the necessity of adaptation to the ideals of earlier days.

Eliot Church was dedicated in 1834, an offshoot of First Church and the fourth Congregational parish in the township. Four others soon followed within a radius of less than a mile, three of them direct descendants of Eliot. Nevertheless its auditorium soon became so crowded that it afforded standing-room only, in spite of its capacity of over 1,100 persons, and had a waiting list of pew-holders. It will be remembered that other denominations were becoming established at this time, so that there seems to have been a remarkable increase of

interest in church activities, following the depression that was felt a few years before. From this distance it seems to have been a spurious interest, compared to the depth and strength of that existing in the early churches. Population was growing rapidly and the newcomers brought traditions of religious life which they wished to perpetuate. This created a need for more denominations which was apparently justified, not only by belief, but also by the ability of their adherents to support them. Not only were new groups formed, but those already existing gained many new members. While no doubt some of these new members held the deepest convictions, it is also likely that a great many were drawn into the various fellowships primarily through a desire for social contact and as a means of orienting themselves in a new environment. The tendency was to rely less on the church and to support it less ardently as other means of contact and activity were found.

The chief reason for the decline of Congregational power was less subtle. It was caused by the influx of different racial stock, people of other faiths or of none. This change was met by absorption and mergers until in 1921 Eliot and her three daughter churches were again united under the parent name. It is now the only Congregational church in Roxbury, except Highland, a small parish dependent for its continued life on its remarkable pastor and on a few non-resident members.

Eliot Church seemingly occupies a place of importance, being in a strategic location and having an adequate endowment. But beneath the surface the same forces are at work that have so changed the character of Roxbury. There is no decrease of numbers nor of activity, but there is not a permanent nucleus of leadership. Here, as elsewhere, a large percentage of the officers and leaders no

longer live near at hand; and while these devoted people show commendable loyalty, it is not likely that the next generation will perpetuate it. The representatives of an earlier order try to shape wise policies of enough solidity to build upon. The moving throng that make up the majority of the congregation have little knowledge of the past and no reverence for it. They feel only slight responsibility for the future and demand innovations of popular appeal.

For some years the church had to combat the weakness of overorganization, though it seems at present to be on firmer ground in that respect. Conflicts often arise over such trivial matters as the use of rooms, or care of equipment, which cause more ill feeling than important discussions. These disagreements set men against women; the young against the old; the traditional against the modern; they even split Bible classes and divide families during the heat of the argument. Yet the work goes on, not without distress to those accustomed to a quieter and more dignified way of settling differences.

There is evidence of lack of trustworthiness in the fact that the balconies and more remote rooms are kept locked when not in use. Conduct has for some years been deplorable in the balcony of the parish house during entertainments and basket-ball games, in spite of chaperonage. It is recognized that some of the young people in Bible School classes and even in Teacher Training groups are unfit for membership, because of their moral standards and behavior. They represent one of the problems that menaces the future, for they have demonstrated their mental fitness for the work and show no tangible evidence of ethical or spiritual unfitness, and without further means of measurement or of discipline they cannot be

excluded. Another perpetual problem is that of the weak young person who is not capable of much leadership but who may contaminate his immediate group after his own corruption, which is easy to bring about, in fact is difficult to avoid in his daily surroundings. These wrongdoings range from petty thieving to promiscuity and illegitimacy. That the hold upon many of the young people is most precarious is shown by the fact that an appreciable number is lost during the summer when the regular sessions of Bible School and Clubs are suspended. This occurs in spite of the fact that many teachers continue an informal contact with their pupils. Another group is annually "lost" morally if not physically. In one year 50 per cent of a class of teen-age girls had a record of illegitimacy as a result of relaxed vigilance and control during the summer months. These girls had for years had the advantage of trained and devoted teachers and leaders, but as in many similar cases, the church is unable to stem the tide.

Trend in Other Churches. Conditions as described are not unique in Eliot Church, but find parallels in most other parishes. Of these there are at least fifteen Protestant denominations represented, some by more than one church. Some of the older churches have been supplanted by foreign-language groups, as the Scandinavian, or by more recent cults, as the Christian Scientist. There are five centralized Roman Catholic Churches, a promising new Greek Church and three synagogues. Considering the fact that the Jews and Catholics together outnumber the Protestants, probably two to one, the disproportionate number of Protestant churches is a sign of weakness. A few consolidated parishes, with the emphasis on Christianity rather than on denominationalism, would appear to serve the community far better. Not

only might strong, large churches be more of an inspiration and less a burden to support, but they might also be capable of uniting some of the forces for good which Protestantism now seems involuntarily to be scattering. On the whole good feeling exists among the religious bodies, and between them and the social agencies, but there is little coördination of effort. Some of the immigrants lack permanence in religious life as in employment or place of abode, drifting about from one church or denomination to another. Others, while more stable, lack the ability or the spirit to make any real contribution. Still others, and these in increasing numbers, make no effort to connect themselves with any church and apparently hold all forms of religion in slight esteem. Thus it appears that in the midst of an overabundance of churches, religious belief is not to-day the guiding principle of Roxbury. It is doubtful if it is even a potent force in some of the churches themselves.

In the colorless, run-down section sometimes known as Boston Highlands there is little trace of the quiet country village that was Rocksborough, or of the prosperous suburb of later days. Nor is there any sign of a new growth of social organization in which is inherent the germ of a future community life. Changes have taken place with such rapidity that there could be no historic continuity of neighborhood or racial boundaries, nor of tradition of any kind. At the present time there is scarcely any selective grouping, even of a temporary nature. There is little chance for coöperation in public works, schools, policing, and the multiple details of civic life, as the municipal government of Boston impersonally controls such machinery. With education and government imposed by a power outside the community; with industry to a large extent disinterested and commercial-

ized; with some churches only the brittle empty shells of a scarcely remembered faith; with many families inharmonious if not actually disunited, both potent cause and unfortunate effect of the unstable community; Roxbury now furnishes slight basis for social consciousness.

CHAPTER VI

FERRUM: FACTIONS AND SOCIAL COMPLEXES IN A COTTON MILL TOWN

Introductory Note. The cotton mill town in the South represents a type of single industry community which to all outward appearance seems remarkably free from many of the problems characteristic of large industrial centers. The population is usually very small in numbers and consists almost entirely of native stock with few Negroes. Labor troubles rarely come to an open crisis and the people conform to the accustomed traditions as a matter of course. But beneath the surface there is constantly going on the usual interplay of social forces which divide the town into classes, develop factional strife, and build up the social patterns typical of all communities whether large or small. It is wrong to assume that the unskilled laborers in a cotton mill, living in company houses of similar size and design, think of themselves as occupying the same social level. Each village, even though small, has its best residential locations and its neighborhood of low repute where the floating element tends to be segregated. There is the same struggle for status and recognition that is found everywhere. And since it is a small community where relationships are largely on a personal basis, the friction that develops may be very bitter, and those unable to compete successfully find little opportunity for readjustment.

In Ferrum, this division into classes is more pronounced because some of the mill workers are homeowners and

therefore feel superior to those who must live in company houses. The situation is still further complicated by the fact that there has grown up a considerable group of trades people and artisans with whom the mill workers do not readily associate, although the lines between them are not always rigidly drawn. Under these circumstances, the maintenance of successful social and civic institutions and enterprises becomes exceedingly difficult. The different elements in the population seek their own level in their institutional life and thereby widen the gulf between them. It is significant that the women observe class lines more strictly than do the men. The most normal association occurs among the children in their common attendance at the public school. The fact, however, that the children in the mill families tend to go to work when they become fourteen years of age makes it inevitable that the young people should be closely identified with their occupational group and be compelled to accept the status it gives them.

The picture of Ferrum presented in this case study must not be taken as typical of all Southern cotton mill towns. The situation is quite different in those company towns where the schools and the churches and even the local government are under the direct control of the mill management. The problems of segregation become much more serious in the suburban mill villages where separate schools are maintained for the mill children. The opportunity of the mill people in Ferrum to participate in community control is much greater than in many other Southern textile towns. Nevertheless in spite of their superior situation the cotton mill employees seem held back by a feeling of inferiority characteristic of their class elsewhere in the South.

Establishment of the Community. About 1888 the

discovery of iron in one of the piedmont counties of North Carolina led to the formation of a mining company under the control of a group of northern men who laid plans for a town as well as a mine. A civil engineer was employed to make a map of this proposed town, named Ferrum, and lay out its streets and lots and parks before any buildings were erected. The town plan, unfortunately, did not include any provision for a railroad, and when this question arose soon after the town was established, the mayor, one of the original political bosses of the town, insisted that the middle tier of blocks be devoted to the proposed railroad, leaving room on each side of the tracks for a park. As a result the main street is a sort of double affair with business buildings on only one side of two streets divided by the railroad. And the extra space, being neglected and undeveloped, instead of adding to the beauty of the town as the mayor hoped, all but ruins its appearance, so that trainmen often say that Ferrum is the worst-looking town from Washington to Jacksonville.

The iron boom gave the town little but its name and its plan, for it was soon found that the ore was of such nature and quantity that mining of it was impracticable. Its founders, therefore, changed their plans and joined the textile boom that was then just getting under way in that part of the state. Ferrum's first cotton mill was built in 1894 by a company already operating a group of mills in the state, and soon a controlling interest in it was acquired by one of the original promoters of the town. The other promoter built a second mill soon after, which was followed by additional mills with the result that Ferrum became a typical "cotton mill town" with everybody directly or indirectly dependent on that basic industry.

Conflicting Interests. These first two mill men were rivals for the leadership of the growing town. They

were both leaders of ability judged by the standards of the small community. One was a Republican and a Yankee, the other a Democrat and a native of the state. These deep-seated differences were further accentuated by business rivalry and a strong personal dislike for each other. One mill became a "Republican" and the other a "Democratic" mill. The manager of each attempted to vote his employees according to his desires. The attempt was usually backed up with the threat of firing any one who refused to comply with the wishes of the management. And of course, in rivalry of this sort, political differences were not limited to those issues which concerned national, state or even county political parties. Heightened by personal rivalry and dislike, and by sectional prejudice, every issue tended to bring about a factional split of the town into about equal camps. Factionalism thus became a tradition and a habit, and often stood in the way of progress. Dominance of the cotton mill with its peculiarities of social classes and economic problems, and the early conflict and later lack of leadership, which left the town the constant victim of cliques—these two factors furnish the key to an understanding of the history of Ferrum and its present situation.

Present Status. In 1926 four corporations, operating six mills with a total of 54,000 spindles and 800 looms, gave employment to approximately 1,100 of the 2,500 white persons living in the town. The few small enterprises that have developed are all of a subsidiary nature and owe their existence to the basic industry. A survey of the business in Ferrum in 1925 showed that there were 55 establishments run by whites including 20 groceries, 5 general merchandise stores, 1 bank, 2 moving picture theaters, 4 barber shops, 5 cafés, 3 meat markets, 3 pressing establishments, 7 garages and filling stations, 2 hard-

ware stores, 1 furniture store and 1 shoe shop. Social and civil organizations and enterprises include eight churches, a school system with two buildings, three fraternal orders, a Woman's Club, a Boy Scout troop, and a municipal park with a swimming pool. This last, an effort of the Woman's Club to develop one of the three parks planned when the town was laid out, was started about 1922 but has languished sadly. In addition to the business enterprises and civic organizations of the whites, there were several retail stores run by Negroes, two Negro churches and a Negro school.

Town Government and Politics. Ferrum was incorporated in 1888 at the beginning of the iron boom. In this respect it is typical of North Carolina cotton mill towns in which are located several mill companies, as opposed to the one company, unincorporated town or village. It has an elected board of aldermen who in turn elect the mayor and other executives.

The heads of the mills have not lived in Ferrum for the past decade. The manager of two northern-owned mills, himself a northern man, lives in the near-by county seat; the owner of the largest mill lives in an adjoining state; the controlling stock in another is owned by a man in a near-by town; the chief stockholders in the last two are natives of South Carolina and lived there until recently when one moved to an adjacent town and the other came to Ferrum. Thus we have a problem of absentee ownership intensified by the fact that the town is thereby deprived of the leadership which these men could furnish. They are not interested in promoting community or social welfare; they are not even interested enough in the town to attempt to get control of the government.

Town management and civic affairs have been left to the merchants, professional groups, and the industrial

population, whose leaders are unable to weld the contending factions that are a heritage from the conflicts of the original mill men during the early years of the town's growth. Sometimes these factions develop in an unusual manner, running across party lines. At present Ferrum is about equally divided politically, but some of the bitterest personal feelings are now manifested between persons of the same party affiliations. A notable example of this was the case of a school superintendent, who, though a Republican, was kept in office for three years by the four Democratic members of the school board, while the three Republicans voted against him on every occasion.

There are now three fairly well-defined factions. The most influential of these is composed of the merchants and the moderately prosperous tradespeople, making up the socially élite—if such there be in Ferrum. If given a free hand, they would perhaps institute progressive measures and create a feeling of community solidarity. Pitted against this group is a small but influential clique of men, mostly carpenters and mechanics, who, being able to align a considerable element of the voting cotton mill population, have either defeated outright or effectively blocked practically every measure proposed by the other group. The third group, itself rather inactive, is composed chiefly of the voting element of the mill population. It holds the balance of power and is therefore a factor to be reckoned with in any local election.

The two active factions put up "tickets" for the board of aldermen and school trustees. Sometimes there are three tickets, and there have been four. Sometimes individuals from both factions will receive sufficient votes to be elected. Only recently the board of aldermen was made up of two men from one faction and two from

another. In such a situation, the election of a mayor, who can cast a vote in case of a tie, is a difficult and important problem.

Effect of Factions. One of the greatest fields for these factional wars has been the school. No superintendent is able to appease the contenders; a little favor, or a supposed one, to one faction inevitably puts the other against him. The custom is to "carry around a petition" asking the trustees to oust him, and when election year comes along the opposition finds more concrete expression in an attempt to "put out a new school board," especially if the old trustees seem disposed to retain the superintendent. In the thirty years of the history of schools in Ferrum no superintendent has held the position for longer than six years, and three years or less have been the official life of the large majority. Principals and teachers who are active meet about the same conditions.

Fights over school buildings, while not so perennial, have been, if possible, more heated and quite as disastrous to the school system. A few years ago the school board decided to build a needed new school in the "cotton mill end of town," and away from the "residential section." The clique of carpenters and mechanics used their utmost influence to defeat the bond issue, but it passed by a small majority. When it was ready for occupancy a real problem arose as to the dividing line between the schools. The leader of the opposition happened to live near the new building, and his children were instructed to attend this school. He flatly refused to send them there, contending that it was built by the "higher ups" as a "Cheap John school house" for the cotton mill people.

Since that time the school population has far outgrown the capacity of the two buildings. Two elections for additional bond issues have been held and both have been

defeated by the same clique. They have been able to do this for two reasons. In the first place they appealed to, and gained, the assistance of the cotton mill population, who, like most backward classes that have had little opportunity themselves, are rather against schools *per se;* certainly they have a traditional suspicion toward any new proposal. Thus the leaders of the carpenter-mechanic clique have been able to play upon their prejudices to their own detriment, for after all, since the cotton mill employees are not property owners, better school facilities for their children would bring them no additional financial burdens. And in the second place, this faction discovered after the first bond issue that their opponents had been guilty of corrupt practices in the conduct of that election. It had required a special registration, and the registrar had been instructed to carry his book to the homes of persons known to favor the bond issue and register them. Needless to say the same policy was not followed in regard to those known to oppose it. "They knew the books were open, and if they wanted to register they could come to the registration office" was the defense offered in justification of this policy. That election was carried, as we have seen, by a small majority, but the opposition has made the most of the incident in efforts to defeat all later measures proposed by that element.

It should, perhaps, be noted that there is no marked difference in the economic status of the contending factions. In fact it would probably be difficult to find another town of its size with no wealthy citizens. Its families for the most part belong to the middle and lower economic classes. Certainly there is little difference in the social and financial rating of the members of the two active groups. The conflicts cannot have had their source in this issue, though some have tried to inject con-

sciousness of class into them. Even the home-owning mill population enjoy a social rating practically on a par with the small tradespeople. Only in case of the floating element of the mills may there be said to exist any real social distinctions.

Mill Housing, Past and Present. The housing and living conditions of the mill operatives of Ferrum have probably been fairly typical of most southern cotton mill towns of different stages. The first houses for operatives were of simple type consisting of two front rooms and a lean-to. Later a few small "story-and-a-half" houses were built. These had four small rooms downstairs and two attic rooms upstairs. The stranger usually wonders how the occupants go upstairs, for he sees no stairway. There is a small steep winding stairway, inside a dark closet next to the chimney. There were no electric lights, and many people used a smoking oil lamp without a chimney for illumination.

Very little attention was paid to problems of sanitation. Often two families used the same open privy, sometimes a partition being built between. The "privy man" made his journey down the back alley rather too seldom. The mills had water closets in them, but sewage was emptied into a small stream and below, the cows of the neighborhood drank and even the small boys of the community went in swimming. Vaccination was very uncommon until a few years ago.

If only one member of the family worked in the mill that family could only have one of the smallest houses. This rule was strictly enforced regardless of the size of the family, for rents were only nominal—fifty cents a week. Under these circumstances the tendency was for each family to supply the mill with the largest possible number of workers either through the employment of wife

and children or by the taking of boarders employed by the mill. Thus living conditions were usually bad, and overcrowding common. Low wages also forced the mothers and children into the mills even if the house rule did not. Conditions such as these, together with the previous low economic status of the people before they came to the mill, were responsible for the stamp of inferiority placed on "cotton mill people."

The social distinction was probably much greater in the early days of the town than it is now. Working conditions in the mills have improved, hours are shorter, and wages much higher while the nominal rent still obtains. Houses have electric lights, running water and sewerage, are neater and more varied in appearance, and the older rules about so many workers according to the size of the house were relaxed during the wartime shortage of labor. But the mill sections of the town still present a monotonous appearance. All the houses are about the same size if not alike, and they are lined up quite regularly along the street. The streets are not so well looked after as in the "residential section"; in fact in one village they are used freely as rubbish and even garbage dumps.

A study of home ownership among the white families living in Ferrum indicated that practically all of the one hundred families not working in the cotton mills were home owners. Of the 400 cotton mill families 269 or approximately 67 per cent were living in dwellings owned by the employing companies; 51, or 13 per cent, rented from sources independent of the mills, while 80, or 20 per cent, lived in their own homes.

The 269 dwellings owned by the mills are not all located in distinctly outlined mill villages. Only one mill village is definitely set apart from the rest of the town. The 73 houses composing this village are in many respects

a unit to themselves. Two villages of 113 and 27 houses, respectively, gradually merge into each other. The remaining 56 of the 269 mill houses are scattered over the town.

It may be inferred from the foregoing description that the segregation of the cotton mill population in this particular town presents no serious problem. With the one exception indicated, and as far as mere physical arrangement is concerned, the inference holds true. The structural arrangement of the villages, the large proportion of the workers who own their homes or rent from a source other than the mill, would indicate a fairly satisfactory adjustment.

Races and Classes. The total estimated population of Ferrum in 1926 was 3,000. Of this number approximately 500 or 16 per cent were Negroes. Segregation of the races, however, is complete, there being a considerable hill lying between the white and colored sections of the town. While the Negroes patronize the two small retail stores run by members of their race, they chiefly depend on the white retail stores for their supplies. There has never been any marked friction between the two races. To what extent this has been due to the manifest willingness of the Negroes in the community to "stay in their place" is of course another matter. In general, the lines of segregation usually found in North Carolina towns are in force. The provision made for Negroes to patronize what for many years was the only moving picture theater in the town by sitting in the balcony may be considered an indication of good feeling.

Of the 2,500 white people, all who do not work in the mill are so dependent upon the trade or patronage of the mill people that their interests lie very closely together. This together with the fact that the mill villages are not

entirely segregated has given this community some advantages not possessed by many cotton mill towns.

There are, however, certain other factors that tend to overcome these advantages. Besides the class of tradesmen and professional men there are at least two, and possibly three, distinct groups, or social levels, of cotton mill workers. The group enjoying the highest social rating is composed of home-owning workers. This group is able to associate with other occupational groups on a practically equal basis, and therefore does not feel the forces of segregation.

The second group of workers, possibly less clearly discernible than either of the other two, is composed chiefly of those workers who, although they do not own their homes, have become fairly permanent residents of the town. This group constitutes a substantial lot of people and although they tend to be rated slightly lower, or perhaps rate themselves slightly lower, than the home-owning workers, they suffer little from the segregating process. There are, at present, two of these non-home owning mill workers on the town board.

It is with the third group of workers made up of the drifting population that the social distinctions are most clearly apparent. Their short period of residence dissociates such families from the real life of the town and develops an attitude of indifference toward civic betterment. Irresponsibility would seem to be the principal distinguishing characteristic of this group as a whole. Due to their outlook and condition of life, they are not received as social equals by the other occupational groups of the town or even by their fellow workers. Possibly through a process of compensation, they generally do not seem possessed with the desire of mingling with other groups.

Mobility. The excessively high rate of mobility of considerable numbers of textile workers constitutes one of the most difficult problems confronting the cotton mill towns in the South. In practically every southern cotton mill village there is an element of the population, mentioned above, that is never stationary. They are the shifting, the most unstable, portion of the population and usually the most unreliable. Moving about from one mill village to another has become for many of these people a habit of life, a welcome break in the monotony of their existence, and perhaps satisfies in some measure their love for adventure. The mother of one family that had moved thirty-three times in six years said: "I like to move. I just like to be on the road." When there is added to this natural restlessness the discontent that grows out of economic maladjustment it is easy to understand why these families never remain long at any one place.

In order to determine the amount of shifting in the population of Ferrum during the past ten years, a study was made of 216 of the 400 cotton mill families living in the town in the year 1926. Of the 216 families studied, 42 were home owners and naturally their rate of mobility would be low. Fifty-five of the 216 families, about 25 per cent, had not moved in the ten year period. The 42 home owning families and 13 families living in houses not owned by the mills made up this number. One hundred and ten families, approximately 50 per cent, had moved from one to ten times during the period studied. Fifty-one of the 216 families, or 23 per cent, were found who had moved oftener than once a year. Of these, 28 families had moved from ten to fourteen times in the ten year period, seven families from 15 to 19 times, nine from 20 to 24 times and seven, more than 30 times in ten years

or three or more moves each year. One of the seven families moved at the rate of six and another ten times each year. It is readily apparent that these highly mobile families find it difficult to establish helpful social contacts. Their brief length of residence prevents any active interest in community undertakings. The neighborly relations characteristic of small towns become impossible for that considerable proportion of the population which is continually shifting.

The Segregated Village. In the mill village which is definitely set apart from the rest of the town the mobility rate was found to be much higher than in the three remaining villages, or among those families renting from sources independent of the mills. This mill and village were built about eight years ago. A representative of the firm went to the mountains of western North Carolina and induced a number of mountain farmers, some of whom were landowners, to move to this mill village. As a result the mill began operations with a labor force recruited almost entirely from mountain people. Soon, however, some became discontented and went back to their mountain homes. Others, for various reasons, drifted away to other mill villages. Since the management apparently did not concern itself with the selection of a stable type of worker to take the place of the departing mountain families, the village houses were soon practically filled with the drifting element of the cotton mill population from all over the piedmont section.

It was an unfortunate occurrence, both for the mill and the community, that the original mountain families left in such large numbers. The ten or twelve of these families remaining are a dependable and substantial group of workers. Other than the mere provision of dwellings, the company has pursued a policy of complete

"laissez faire." Though the mill village is quite separated from the town there is no school, or church, or community building of any type in the village of seventy or more houses. The only buildings besides dwellings and the mill are a small retail grocery and a soft drink establishment. The people in the village take very little interest in the town churches. While required to send their children to school, the parents are known to violate the school attendance law at every opportunity. In fact, these people seem to take little interest in educational or civic affairs. Probably the operation of the mill on a 60 hour a week schedule for both day and night shifts consumes the energies of the employees and deadens their interest in community enterprises.

The Cotton Mill Inferiority. With this background of housing, group consciousness, mobility, and segregation, we can now discuss a personality trait that seems to be peculiar to cotton mill people. At least it seems to exist in this particular town. It can hardly be said that other classes or groups in Ferrum consciously or intentionally discriminate against cotton mill workers in social and civic activities. Rather, the mill people show no willingness to develop social relationships with other groups. They seem content to let others manage every enterprise. The only exception to this has been the rather passive joining with factional leaders to prevent the issue of school bonds, discussed above. Whether this inferiority complex, which seems to preclude active participation in community affairs, is brought to the mills by the employees as a part of their heritage from poor economic and social conditions in the past, or whether it is acquired as one of the characteristics of their new environment is, of course, a matter of opinion. A typical instance will illustrate how it works.

Membership in the Woman's Club in Ferrum has always been open to any woman in the community: its dues are only a dollar; its objects are of general community interest, helping the school or fitting up the town park, and the like. When dinners or flower shows are to be given the mill women will, if asked, donate and prepare articles of food. Further than this they will not go. Some of them have been specially invited to join the club, and as far as is known, no occasion has arisen which would cause them to feel unwelcome. And yet, through the ten years of the club's existence, no woman from a mill family has ever been a member, though in the town as a whole they outnumber three to one the wives of tradesmen, professional men and mechanics who make up the membership.

Among the men there is the same tendency to divide into social groups on an occupational basis but not in such an extreme form. Of the three fraternal orders in the town one has built up its following among the mill men, another has catered to the non-mill men, while the membership of the third is made up of individuals from different social and economic groups.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the school children associate with one another on apparently an equal basis. The mill children do not play in a separate group, nor do they have that attitude of passiveness characteristic of their parents in community affairs. In fact, frequently a boy of a mill family is found to be one of the playground leaders. As far as high school relationships are concerned, the mill children are not often discriminated against by their classmates, due perhaps to the fact that only the most intelligent and promising mill children ever reach the high school.

But among the adult mill workers and especially among

those whose constant moving about deprives them of normal community relationships, this attitude of inferiority is clearly manifest. And this personality trait persists in Ferrum which is better supplied with antidotes for the development of this attitude than many cotton mill towns. For at least the people of the whole town attend the same churches, and the children, the same schools.

Religious Life. Aside from the public school, the churches probably do more toward breaking down class feeling than any other agency in Ferrum through their facilitation of contact between the mill operatives and other groups. Unfortunately, however, their influence in this direction is somewhat marred by their division among different denominations. In fact the town is overchurched. Eight churches, representing as many denominations or different branches of the same denomination, are to be found here, while only one of the eight is able to support a full-time pastor. Two are served by pastors living in the adjoining town, and the others have small churches in the country. Little effective coöperation is possible. Union services have never been successful even on Sunday evenings during the summer months.

All the present ministers are confirmed fundamentalists. They consider that their mission consists primarily in the salvation of the souls of their respective flocks. Only one of them has been active in promoting any sort of social service, a Boy Scout troop, and that for only a short time. There is a ministerial association, but only the pastors of the four leading churches are active. Little effort has been made to enroll the other pastors as members. Sometimes open dislike keeps a fellow pastor out. An instance of this occurred several years ago. A young man with rather liberal views, and incidentally one of the ablest preachers the town has ever had, took charge of

one of the smaller churches. With the help of his wife he organized Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls. He started an open discussion group and word was soon circulated that he did not believe in the Old Testament. The ministers of the "leading" churches became suspicious of his supposed radical views and refused to give him membership in the ministerial association. Later, when he and his wife dared to sponsor a dance given at their home, polite toleration changed to open conflict, which finally resulted in the departure of the young minister from the community.

With such a spirit in the churches it has been impossible for them to do much constructive community work. The most that can be said in their favor is that class lines are sufficiently obliterated in their membership to incorporate mill workers and other classes in the same church group.

Ferrum has many of the disorganizing features of the average small town. In its factions, its conflicts in leadership over all manner of political and educational affairs, in its sectarianism among the churches, its history is different only in detail from that of hundreds of other towns. As a cotton mill town it is not quite so typical. For the mill people are not segregated physically and socially from all other people in the town as is often the case, through the conscious efforts and unconscious reactions of employer, worker and townsmen. The mill workers are not even set apart from the rest of the town by any sort of welfare activities as is common in many mill villages.

And yet it manages to be very typical of cotton mill villages in some of the aspects most deeply characteristic of such communities. There is a social and psychical segregation just as real as if the mill family did not live beside the non-mill family. The employees in the mills

suffer from the usual inferiority complex, which attendance at the same schools and churches has not overcome. Even in politics and factional conflicts the mill people are a more or less passive mass for the cliques to maneuver.

Life in Ferrum has its interests and its little excitements. For the fundamentalist preacher, for the school board or the school superintendent, for the factional leader, the woman's club member, the non-mill worker, the daily round of community life may be full of zest and interest. For the mill workers—and it is made up mostly of these—it is drab and dull. It may be that they are unable to participate in the affairs of the town because of their feeling of inferiority and meager intellectual background. It may be that they simply stand back because of lack of energy and interest. But the fact remains that for the cotton mill workers in Ferrum, civic responsibility is an empty conceit and community consciousness is non-existent.

CHAPTER VII

BELVIDERE: PATERNALISM IN AN ISOLATED COMMUNITY

Introductory Note. Scattered through the southern Appalachian mountains are many small communities which because of their remoteness and difficulties of travel have been deprived of all except the most meager contacts with the outside world. During recent years some of these mountain communities have been invaded by industrial developments of various kinds. Railroads and highways have been built, outsiders have poured in, and the old inhabitants have found themselves facing a new kind of life for which they were ill prepared. Under such conditions the traditional means of social control tend to break down and great difficulties are experienced in making adjustments required by the new situation.

In Belvidere we have illustrated a mountain community of this kind, which during the past twenty-five years has been the seat of a lumber company established by outside interests. The coming of this new industry was bitterly resented by the mountain people, because they felt it was an unwarranted invasion of their private domain. They clung to their old customs and traditions and were utterly unable to rebuild their social institutions in accord with the needs of a growing industrial community. In order to meet this situation the officials of the lumber company took upon themselves full responsibility for community welfare, and established a paternalistic system of control of community activities. The story

told in this chapter describes some of the difficulties encountered by this new régime and shows both the advantages and weaknesses of this type of community organization.

While the leadership in this community came from the outside it was without doubt of a higher type, and shows broader vision and more socialmindedness than any leadership the community could have developed within itself. Furthermore, in spite of its paternalistic nature, it has been permeated with a real desire to develop local community spirit and democratic feeling. And yet with all these advantages, this experiment in community organization gives little assurance of permanent success. Either because of some fault in itself or for lack of time, it seems fairly clear that when the lumber company moves on within a few years to new territory, much of the progress made under its régime will disappear. As a means of handling the problems brought about by the sudden advent of industrialism in an isolated community, much can be said in justification of this method of community control. It is a much more difficult matter to determine the permanent effects of this type of paternalistic procedure upon the people themselves.

Community situations of this kind, it must be remembered, where the old and the new are brought into sharp and inescapable conflict, lead to a great amount of serious disorganization with which even the best possible system of administration can not successfully cope. Whatever means of control may be devised, the disorganization that cuts deep into community life can at best be merely alleviated by the efforts of community leaders. Its cure must await the slow adjustment of conflicting forces, a process that can be furthered by wise community action, but not brought to any sudden completion. In passing judgment,

therefore, on the manner of dealing with the situation at Belvidere, we must not be misled by the small results achieved. Other methods might have proved to be equally futile, for a generation is a very brief period in which to change the habits and traditions of a people.

Setting and Early Conditions. Twenty-five years ago Belvidere was merely an area of mountain land. The few people who lived in that section of the country had little contact with the outside world. To get out in one direction they had to cross Bull Mountain; in another direction they could struggle over the hard rough roads leading across Grandfather Mountain into Virginia. In the latter case they found themselves in what have been called the lost counties of Virginia—equally as mountainous and remote as the place from which they started. Because of its isolation, until recent years, little was known of Belvidere, that little being gained by occasional tourists who passed by on their way to Grandfather Mountain, interested people who looked upon these folk as curiosities, or as bits of local color which added to the interest of the trip.

The original settlers of the community—families of Scotts, Browns and Henegars—had come from Virginia to hold the land of Samuel Showers who claimed possession of a large tract. Sometimes small farms were purchased from Showers—little patches of bottom land which were laboriously cleared and made to produce some of life's necessities. All about were the forests, the common property of every one. Fuel was there for any who wished it. Timber was a liability and many logs were wasted in building the log houses with their smooth, puncheon floors. Wild hogs ran at will, even up to recent years. Game, berries, and fruit were plentiful and were to be had for the taking. Every family was sufficient unto itself,

raising and preparing all it needed for food and clothes. Only salt and soda were purchased, and for these the men had to drive their covered wagons across Bull Mountain to Middleboro twenty-seven miles away. The trip required two days in fair weather, and sometimes as many as seven in foul. Certain individuals of the group rose to the occasion when there was need of caring for the sick, burying the dead, manufacturing guns, tools, shoes, etc. Social life centered about occasional "house raisin's" and gatherings at the church. Annual revivals were the epoch-making events of the year. Of weddings there were plenty—Scotts marrying Henegars and Henegars marrying Scotts. Seen in retrospect these days are referred to by the old inhabitants as the "good old times."

Dispossession of the Early Settlers. Conditions similar to these prevailed until about 1880 when to the consternation of all, the land title of Samuel Showers was questioned. A legal representative of the Lawrence Land Company, Charleston, appeared and claimed the land as part of the property of his clients, on the strength of a deed acquired in 1785 by John Lawrence of Charleston. Though this deed covered a tract of sixty thousand acres, little attention had been paid to it until the time mentioned above. Then, because of the value of the timber, the title was investigated. The case of the purchasers from Samuel Showers versus the Lawrence Land Company was taken into court and the Land Company won. All the Scotts and Henegars who had been living on the land as far back as any one could remember were dispossessed and forced to leave or lease from the Land Company. Feeling was so bitter that until recently their agents have had to go about fully armed. Some of the dispossessed families drifted about, living here and yonder, but congregating chiefly at the small trading center

of Freeport, where they were able to purchase homesteads on long time payments.

The Lawrence Land Company, after clearing their land of squatters, sold most of it to the government for a forest preserve. One thousand acres, just across the ridge from Freetown, were set aside for their summer estate. Here several large apple orchards were set out. A home and stables were maintained for the Lawrence heirs who each year spent a month on the place. A superintendent was employed to manage the estate, and under him were many tenants and their families, who constituted a neighborhood of their own. These tenant farmers were not local people, but were recent emigrants from the near-by mountain sections of Virginia and Kentucky.

Arrival of a New Industry. Soon after 1900 the community was again revolutionized by the arrival of a lumber company from New York. Philip and Warren Lathrop, the owners, together with families of Pennsylvania Germans, Swedes and Italians, came to start a new settlement. Huge tracts of timber were bought. Building operations began. Houses sprang up almost over night. The saw mill outfit arrived, was hauled across Bull Mountain in wagons, and preparations were made to cut over the surrounding forests.

Since "furriners" (meaning any outsider) were disliked by the mountain people, the latter's skill in marksmanship was dedicated to seeing that the newcomers did not stay. Stony Valley, a near-by settlement, had so successfully rid itself of Negro lumber jacks that the current saying is "no Negro has ever set foot in Stony Valley since." Mr. Philip Lathrop, however, very generously showed his supply of guns and pistols, which nearly filled his shack and also exhibited his skill in afternoon target practice. The rather startling disclosure that he was no

mean marksman, stopped the expedition of mountain men who planned to scare out the "furriners." The Italians did not like existing conditions and remained only a short time. All the others settled about the mill, only one and one-half miles from Freeport and two miles from the Lawrence Farm. This site was chosen for its accessibility and for the fact that at this point Shooting Creek had sufficient volume of water for the millpond and the dam. The Federal authorities soon closed the post office at Freeport and moved it to the new settlement at the mill which was christened Belvidere.

Work was plentiful, the mill was a novelty, wages were paid promptly. Almost immediately all the men for miles around were tramping to Belvidere to work. At first they labored intermittently. Hunting and fishing lured them away from the mill and do yet at times, for above all the mountain man is independent. But eventually the men learned that it was to their advantage to have steady employment, and so settled down to the daily routine. As hundreds of employees were needed, many new families, most of them from the adjoining mountain counties, came to join the nucleus which had settled about Belvidere and aided in the building of the new community.

Paternalistic Religious Control. Since the Lathrops own a controlling interest in this section, all deference was paid to their opinions, and it was not unnatural to find them directing local affairs and movements for public welfare. First they organized a Belvidere Christian Association,—an organization designed to meet the religious, social and educational needs of the people. All meetings are held in the building erected by the Association, which is a community house rather than a church. The founders held the idea that in a community of this size and of this economic status, separate denominations would divide

the people among small and inefficient churches. Consequently, the Christian Association was formed on a basis broad enough to include all denominations. The program as mapped out calls for Sunday School and preaching services to be held each Sunday. The Sunday School is conducted by local men. The preaching services are held on Sunday nights in turn by Methodist, Episcopal and Presbyterian ministers who come in from adjoining parishes. Each minister is instructed to limit the sermon to thirty minutes and to avoid doctrinal points. The fee paid is $15 a service. On the fourth Sunday night some local person leads,—the doctor, the principal of the school, or Mr. Lathrop. The Association encourages church membership, but asks its members to retain this in the church of their choice elsewhere, and join in the coöperative meetings while living in Belvidere.

Such a management of religious affairs ran counter to the traditions of the original settlers. With them the church is their chief organization—made up of a group of believers in the Baptist faith. Through this organization may be obtained not only spiritual inspiration but social life. Services mean not merely an hour of Sunday School in the morning and another of preaching at night. They are monthly events beginning with congregational meetings Saturday afternoons and continuing through preaching services Sunday mornings, Sunday afternoons, and Sunday nights. The church is the source of religious life, the fountain head of community sanction or disapproval. For any one to allow ministers of various faiths to voice their beliefs in the "church house,"—even to make such a departure as to discuss sanitation, health measures, education, is almost blasphemy; but worst of all is use of the house of God for purposes other than preaching.

It is not alone the broad policy or the federated charac-

ter of the Belvidere Christian Association which sets it apart from the traditional type. Its failure to observe local religious customs makes it equally distinctive. In the local Baptist church, posters from the Sunday School Board hang alongside the nails for the preacher's hat; a home-made bench on the platform accommodates the several preachers each congregation has in its midst. A window is opened, a lamp adjusted or a thirsty child given a drink at the bucket by the reading desk, while the minister disclaims in his peculiar rhythmic way his scorn for those who believe in evolution; or his assurance that Peter and his assistants immersed the three thousand converts on the first Pentecost. Gems such as "The Railroad to Heaven," from cheap modern hymnals give place during times of fervor to "The Ship of Zion" or "The Old Time Religion."

The pastor of the Freeport Baptist Church is a local man—a carpenter by trade—who performs his religious duties after the week's work is over. The former pastor was "delicensed" by the congregation for one year, because he spent a week-end in Tennessee with another man's wife. Both of these men are sons of the Scott stock, have little education, but much devotion to the scriptures.

Since the Belvidere Christian Association is designed to meet the spiritual needs of people of all denominations, there has been an unwritten law in Belvidere that no minister nor any denomination shall locate there. The Freeport Church, however, was here when the Lumber Company arrived. It is outside the bounds of the Company's property, so it maintains its own policy. Its membership is made up of descendants of the original families and of those families about Belvidere who came from near-by mountain sections and were reared in the Baptist faith.

Paternalistic School. The plan of organization of the Belvidere Christian Association included provision for an educational system as well as religious worship. The Lumber Company officials who desired for their sons and daughters the best possible advantages erected a good school building—a large two-story structure. A small library was started, laboratory equipment provided, and all the requirements of an A grade school were fully met. Permission was secured from the County School Board for the Belvidere Christian Association to choose its own teachers. Frequently salaries are supplemented in order that the best possible instructors can be secured. In those grades where the county provides for only a seven months' term, the Association finances an additional two months.

At first Freeport kept its own school. Of course, comparisons were made between the new building and the little log schoolhouse, between the big slate blackboards and those made of oilcloth to which they had been accustomed. The new desks were much nicer than the old scarred home-made seats. But the old residents were inclined to feel that what had been good enough for them was good enough for their children. The rivalry between the old and the new school was finally settled in a rather dramatic manner when some of the larger boys at the Freeport School in a fit of anger kicked over the wood stove and drove the teacher from the premises. Since then the old school has been discontinued and all the Freeport children go to the more modern school in Belvidere, but only for the length of time the law demands. One reason for this is early marriages. If the Freeport girls do not seize the day of their beauty to attract a possible husband, they find themselves eighteen or twenty years old and eligible only for widowers. Others stop

school because they are not interested in their studies and see no necessity for "book larnin." No Scott, Henegar, or Brown has gone beyond the seventh grade, a fact which serves to perpetuate the gulf between the Freeport and Belvidere communities.

In athletics, plays and other similar activities the Freeport children take no part. When a Home Economics and a Manual Training department were established this group would have nothing to do with either. From their point of view, schools were not places to teach cooking and carpentry. Boys could learn the building trade from their fathers; girls learned cooking at home. There was no reluctance in using school gardens—even in trying to raise new vegetables like spinach, carrots, egg plant and celery. But cooking as one chose was a Divine prerogative and its place was in the home. In spite of persistent efforts on the part of the teachers, the school has not succeeded in teaching better methods of food preparation.

The large amount of control of the school by Mr. Lathrop has led to disputes within the Belvidere group itself. A year ago there was an open revolt in the Advisory Board of the Belvidere Christian Association because Mr. Lathrop refused to propose a certain teacher for reëlection. In retaliation the Board declined to elect any of the teachers whom he did propose. When Mr. Lathrop saw that some of his best friends took sides against him, thus leaving him without any support, he told the Board what he thought of them and resigned as Educational Director. This meant the loss of the financial support of the Association, without which the obligations of the school could not be met. It meant, furthermore, that without Mr. Lathrop's participation, the county superintendent would not allow the Advisory Board to choose the Belvidere teachers. As the school is in an iso-

lated section, the teachers selected by the county board at unsupplemented salaries would be far below the type which had been secured through Mr. Lathrop's interest. Consequently his resignation was something to be reckoned with, and the opposition forces were the first to beg him to reconsider. He did resume his office, but the teacher in question was not given a position.

Other Company Activities. Another innovation of the lumber company was that of engaging a company doctor, whose services are available to employees and their families upon payment of a stated monthly fee deducted from their wages at pay day. This doctor participates in the Belvidere Christian Association and is definitely regarded as a member of the company group. He maintains a small dispensary where minor operations may be performed, uses drastic methods of controlling epidemics, sees that the water supply is tested regularly and stands for all that is progressive in the way of health. It is needless to say that many of his measures are not only misunderstood, but even resented. At one time a four-year-old child of one of the mountain men became very ill and died in spite of the doctor's effort to save its life. The family attributed its death to carelessness on the doctor's part. Within a few days a petition appeared, signed by thirty-seven members of the community, requesting the removal of the doctor. Since no attention was paid to this petition, some of the people tried to call in an outside doctor in subsequent illnesses. The expense of such a procedure made this a futile protest.

The commissary, where the mill employees are required to do their trading, is still another activity of the lumber company. Prices are arbitrarily fixed and are higher than those of other stores which struggle through a brief existence in this locality. These latter demonstrate the fact

that some one is making money from the commissary. But there are too few families whose wage earners are not employed by the company to make it possible for the rival stores to operate long. The commissary does not boycott them; it rather encourages them, for the managers know that this competition is not to be feared. Sears and Roebuck, however, are not so easily eliminated and much merchandise from this mail-order house finds its way into the community.

Then there is the annual Chautauqua brought here seemingly by the people but in reality by the lumber company. At these events the community house is filled to overflowing with men and women of every class and condition from the entire section. It is the most inclusive gathering of the community and the one occasion where the people act en masse. Attendance is stimulated by the fact that the mill closes at three o'clock in the afternoon during the Chautauqua with no reduction in pay. The school also closes in time for the afternoon performance. The programs are thoroughly enjoyed and the return of the Chautauqua year after year is eagerly awaited.

Social Contacts. The officials and leaders of the Belvidere group make every effort to be democratic in their social contacts. Mr. Lathrop is "Philip" to his men; the commissary manager is "Joe"; the yard boss "Bill." Only the doctor is addressed with a title. The home of the Lathrops is always open to visitors. But it is very different from the home of the typical mountain family. Timber is now so valuable that the workingmen can afford only plain two- to four-room weather-boarded houses, built on posts driven in the ground. The newspaper-covered walls, the scanty, simple furniture, the open fireplaces or ashbox under the stove for the comfort of tobacco chewers and snuff dippers, the attempts at dec-

oration in the form of postcards on racks or a chromo, "Rock of Ages," the bed in the "best room," sometimes the talking machine bought from college student salesmen, the iron kettle for washing down by the branch—such surroundings and the standards they connote do not tend to make the mountain people feel free in the larger and better furnished homes of the company officials.

As a matter of fact the small number of social contacts between the two groups is due more to the voluntary withdrawal of the mountain people than to aloofness on the part of the company officials. During four years of college, John Lathrop, son of Philip, roomed with an illegitimate mountain boy who came from near the community and who had to work his way through college. Membership in the lodges does not follow class lines. Odd Fellows outnumber the Masons, but the latter consider themselves the élite. Freeport and Belvidere men forget any social or religious differences, and join the lodge of their choice.

In social life the Lathrops make their leadership felt through the Belvidere Christian Association with its varied recreational program. This Association gives up its Sunday School room each Friday night for the movies —Friday nights in deference to the monthly Saturday night meetings at the Freeport Church. It sponsors banquets and fêtes; it opens its rooms to lodge meetings. On the Fourth of July it frequently takes charge of the day's program, substituting games and festivities for the old-time celebrations in which whiskey and shooting were involved.

Politics and Law. In the field of politics there is lacking the usual rivalry between political parties, since this section, like most mountain sections of the South, has been predominantly Republican. The Lathrops, natives

of a Republican state, easily became leaders of the dominant party and have experienced no difficulty in bringing about the election of their own candidates for local offices.

The matter of law enforcement, however, is much more complicated and has tended to become a disorganizing factor in the community. Differences of opinion concerning existing liquor laws have split the community into factions. One of the effects of federal prohibition has been the commercialization of illicit liquor distilling in the mountain districts. Formerly mountain men made liquor because transportation of the finished product was easier than marketing their grain, and because they wanted to assert their traditional rights. Now they make it because an unprecedented demand comes to them from towns across Bull Mountain. Transportation is simple. The purchaser frequently provides this himself. Prices are unbelievably high, so why not take a chance?

Against this determined attempt to evade the liquor laws, the Belvidere Christian Association has taken a very strong stand. Any employee of the lumber company, whether engineer of the log trains or town barber, knows he will lose his job if he is caught handling liquor. But that does not affect those members of the family who are not employed, or those who find it as profitable to blockade as to work day after day in the mill. The lumber company supports the sheriff, and Freeport men are sometimes employed as deputies to aid in law enforcement, but no way has yet been found of suppressing the liquor traffic.

Mr. Lathrop has been so fearless in attempting to deal with bootleggers that he has more than once nearly lost his life. One day he trailed some offenders into a thicket and came upon them just as they were measuring the liquor. They had their pistols out quickly and forced

him to march to the public road, meanwhile warning him against ever going out of his way to hunt up violators of the law.

It has not been unusual for a Henegar to cut up his neighbor's still or to report one on his brother's property. Brothers will ferret out brothers; fathers to avoid punishment for violation of liquor laws will place the blame on their sons. For the love of money family cleavages are taking place that would have been undreamed of five years ago.

Business Attitudes and Poverty. In only one other line has the company met difficulties that seem impossible to overcome. That is payment of debts. Very often Mr. Lathrop and other officials have loaned money or accepted notes on land debts to encourage home ownership. Because of the low educational standards many of the mountain men cannot read or write, and consequently do not keep careful accounts of their debts. Ordinarily, the small amounts they pay from time to time are recorded mentally or on a notched stick. Sometimes these payments barely cover the interest, and yet later they wonder why the principal has not diminished. Some feel that since they are poor and have a hard struggle to live, the rich creditors should not press them for payment. From their point of view, the little that was borrowed should not be missed by the Lathrops. Anyway, didn't that land years ago belong only to the mountain people? Why should they now be constantly prodded for payment?

At the commissary many families accumulate hundreds of dollars of debt and then literally struggle for years to pay it off. Others do not care. For instance, the son of the Baptist preacher owed the store a huge bill. The hunting season opened and he gave up his mill job, leaving his debt behind him. After a while he began work-

ing for a building contractor who was putting up some houses in the vicinity. Mr. Lathrop immediately demanded that the contractor hold out $5 each week from this man's pay to apply on the store account. Rather than submit to this the worker gave up his job and lived on the bounty of his relatives. Although all available pressure is placed upon such shiftless men, and every effort made to induce them to work, the lumber company soon reaches a stone wall and becomes powerless. Public opinion is still clannish enough to protect these individuals.

Poverty is not a major problem. Practically every family tend a small tract of land near their home. While the man is busy in the mill his wife and children are working in the new ground, hoeing the corn or "bugging" the beans. The produce secured in this way helps materially in support of the family. Should misfortune or even shiftlessness reduce any one to poverty, he is offered a refuge in some relative's home. The law of hospitality makes it unnecessary for any one to apply to the county for funds. No one is rich, indeed none has more than a bare living wage, yet it is easy to secure the bare necessities of life, and those who cannot even do this are looked after by abler members of the family. There is no limit to the number of people who may live in one home. If a young man wants to go to West Virginia to work in the mines he takes his wife and children to his or her father's home, and leaves them there until his return. Whether he comes back soon or stays away long, his family will be cared for as well and as graciously as though they were paying board. If he comes back penniless, he stays on with them all—"until he gets on his feet"; if he comes back richer for his toil he takes his family and resumes housekeeping

with never a cent of remuneration to those who have sheltered them.

Morals and the Family. The overcrowding of the homes, with single men lodgers employed by the mill, and the loneliness of life in that isolated community inadequately supplied with means for wholesome recreation results not infrequently in the breakdown of moral standards and in the birth of illegitimate children. While this is not considered a matter for pride, neither is it a matter for ostracism.

One unmarried mother in the community wrapped her new-born child in an old flag and hid it beneath a large rock. Whether it died a natural death or was previously killed, no one will ever know. The body was found by some hunters who later brought to light the facts surrounding the case. The mother and her parents, and the reputed father were haled into court, but for some reason no one was indicted, and the matter was dropped. Later this woman married one of the most highly esteemed of the mountain men. A song ballad has been composed about this incident, in which names are mentioned. Though this song is sung occasionally, no one ever thinks directly of the woman implicated. She is accepted everywhere in the community, and has not suffered any loss of prestige by the misfortune.

Another woman from one of the best mountain homes has four illegitimate children. She is not married, but lives with her family at her old home. She has some property and is very thrifty. The three oldest boys are the only boys of the mountain families who have completed their high school courses. One was graduated from college and is now with a widely-known electric company in a position that takes him to many state univer-

sities as a lecturer. The second finished college and is now in a medical school. The third is a student in college at the present time. It is generally known that the father of these boys is their mother's cousin. Every one is familiar with the illegal status of the family, but neither the boys nor their mother suffer any social ostracism.

While the establishment of an outside industry brought in its wake many serious moral problems, the company officials have done what they could to preserve law and order. This was illustrated when they compelled the postmaster to marry the girl whom he had loved well, but not wisely. Though the family thus formed has many quarrels, at least there is one less illegitimate child in the mountains of Virginia. Or again there is the instance of a high school teacher having clandestine meetings and supposed immoral relations with a charming young lady from town, while his wife was in the hospital with a week-old baby. An informal hearing of the case took place, which resulted in the teacher leaving town without waiting to pack his household goods.

Paternalism and the Future. In this community is seen exemplified the result of a paternalistic program. The coming in of an outside industry with strong and intelligent leadership has broken down the former isolation. A good road was built across the Bull's back and a railroad spur now connects Belvidere with the outside world. Strangers can come in; the people can get out. Automobiles have appeared on the scene—high-powered cars for the company officials; Fords or second-hand Chevrolets for the rank and file. Many times the latter have been broken down for months after one or two short runs. But whether it runs or not the man who owns a car feels vastly superior to the person who has to drive his family to church in a two-horse spring wagon. Altogether these

changes have affected in a marked degree the customs of the mountain people. They were living in a seventeenth century civilization, and then found themselves suddenly projected into this world of inventions and commercialization.

Their adaptation to the new situation has been greatly aided by the community program promoted by the Lathrops. That this was a good one is generally admitted. It is, however, a graft upon the community into which the latter has put little life blood. None of the leadership has come from within the original groups.

Another crisis is soon to be faced. The lumber mill will finish its job in a few more years. If the Lathrops leave at that time, what will happen? The sole industry will close down. Leadership will be withdrawn. When this happens the mountain people may be left in a worse condition than that in which they were thirty years ago. Behind all their thinking lies this great question—shall they keep their tiny homesteads or sell them now while prices are moderately high? Shall they invest more money in Belvidere? How will they be able to support their families? How secure these advantages to which they have become accustomed? Must they join the ranks of the roving miners and industrial workers? What of the future? It is still in the lap of the gods—or the minds of the Lathrops. They have made the community; they can destroy it.

CHAPTER VIII

MT. GILEAD: A DUAL CONFLICT IN THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY AND ITS LEADERSHIP

Introductory Note. While the rural community with its sparsely settled population and small number of institutions constitutes a simple social situation as compared with the city, an intimate knowledge of life in the open country reveals a surprising array of contending forces that vastly complicate any scheme of social organization. As a matter of fact the unity that is generally supposed to characterize the rural community is likely to be either superficial in nature or manifest only when conflicts with the outside world draw the people together. Even in a small community ambitious people struggle for power, differences of opinion drive people into opposing groups, and local institutions such as the church develop rivalries that sometimes make unified action extremely difficult or even impossible.

The casual observer driving along the paved highways of Mt. Gilead community views with admiration the attractive church with its well-used grove and Sunday School rooms, the modern brick schoolhouse, the pleasant little lake with its recreation grounds, the neat painted houses, the automobiles and other signs of prosperity, and quite naturally concludes that here is a rural community in which the people live in material comfort and are bound together by a spirit of harmony and coöperation. As a matter of fact, under all this seeming peace and pros-

perity, there has been going on in this community for generations a constant struggle between opposing forces which have grown out of the very nature of the community itself. Besides, there have been for many years serious clashes and conflicts between ambitious leaders over the conduct of community affairs. Never perhaps in its comparatively long history have both types of struggle been more pronounced than during the present generation, for the personal characteristics of the leaders and the interplay of social forces seem to have accelerated the pace of the conflict.

The outlook for the future of this community, however, is not as depressing as its past history might seem to indicate. The younger generation take decreasing interest in the outworn issues over which the older people have long contended. The feelings of bitterness that grew out of school consolidation will hardly outlast the lifetime of the older leaders. Of even greater significance is the broader outlook of the people made possible by improved roads and more rapid means of transportation. The community and its affairs are viewed in the wider perspective of the outside world. With other interests to engage their attention, the people are less concerned with the petty rivalries that divided the older generation. While the type of disorganization depicted in the story of Mt. Gilead is still found in many small communities, it seems destined to play a declining rôle in future years. It must not be forgotten, however, that this dispersion of interests which seems to make for greater harmony and peace, also causes a weakening of community solidarity. Future crises alone will show whether the community is harmonious because its people are lukewarm, and peaceful because its leaders are less interested not only in the fight, but in the outcome.

Beginnings of Unity and Conflict. The community

of Mt. Gilead, which derives its name from the local Baptist church, is located in the coastal plain region of North Carolina, five miles from the small city of Blacksburg, well known as a center for the marketing of tobacco. In area this rural community comprises about twenty-four square miles, and has a population of approximately 1,400 people. A strong community has existed here since early in 1700, when three Johnston brothers came over from England and settled on a 16,000-acre tract of land bounded on the north by Black River and on the south by Goshen Swamp. One of the brothers settled at its upper end, and at Johnston's Cross Roads near by was later located a country store which supplied all the plantations with such necessities as were not produced at home. The other two brothers settled on the north side of the present community. For many years neighborhood life found its center in the homes of these three families. Under pioneer conditions social activities were largely limited to family reunions and mingling and the intermarrying of their slaves. Clearing land, raising all the necessities of life, collecting the turpentine by boxing the pines, distilling it into tar, pitch and rosin for shipment by water for a sort of "money crop," traveling to distant little towns for trading and business,—these and similar activities took most of their time and energy in an era of slow travel and hand labor.

These families held their property intact until 1803 when a McBride family came from Scotland and bought six hundred acres almost in the heart of the original tract. Following the advent of the McBride family other settlers arrived, and several families took up lands south of Goshen Swamp,—the Robinsons, Taylors, Watkins, Howards, and others. Although the swamp formed a considerable barrier against much social intercourse, there

was some intermarrying between these later comers and the original families, and their descendants are among the men and women exerting greatest influence upon the community to-day. The presence of the McBride family and the other newcomers brought some dissension into the settlement, and led to petty jealousies and conflicts over various things such as stock running loose and destroying crops in a day when fences were not common. The method of its settlement, then, had both the unifying force of blood relationship and the natural conflict between old and newcomers.

Its economic system made for a similar trend toward community on the one hand, and toward individualism on the other. The whole section during its early years was too far away from any town to have its interest pulled away from the community and the little country stores, for, though Blacksburg was founded in 1852, it did not grow much till forty years later. This trend toward community feeling which grew out of its isolated position was considerably counteracted by the plantation system with its scattered families largely sufficient unto themselves. The Civil War broke up some of these old plantations, and a period of disintegration set in which had a depressing effect on community development for many years. When all this damage was finally repaired, and the land again became productive, new economic forces had begun that put a strain on the community that has grown greater as the years have gone on. One of the chief of these changes was the rise of the tenant farming system with its consequent complication of social status and leadership. Another was the growth of Blacksburg, only five miles from the nearer edge of this community, which, with the rapidly-growing custom of marketing and buying on a larger scale, naturally pulled people toward it.

In the field of education a similar story can be traced before the Civil War when some of the more well-to-do families had tutors to serve children living near each other, while others sent their children away to academies. On the whole the educational progress was not great. The one-teacher school of the community was established about the time of the Civil War. From that time until 1900 the school was moved several times, and its name changed to satisfy some current ruling element. Toward the latter part of this period there were at one time three little neighborhood schools ministering very unsatisfactorily to the needs of various family groups that would not unite. Usually, however, there were leaders strong enough to keep the school united.

But it was in the field of religion and the church that the struggle between the forces that made for unity and the forces of disorganization was most severe and long drawn out. For Mt. Gilead is, and has long been, essentially a church community, and so predominantly Baptist that no other denomination has ever had much foothold, with only a very occasional person belonging to Long's Methodist Church to the northeast and Trinity Methodist to the west. This dominance of one church has, of course, given a unity, but it is equally obvious that the lack of competition with another church has laid Mt. Gilead open to factional dissension in a denomination of such democratic proclivities as the Baptist, and in a community that has always had plenty of able leaders.

Indeed Mt. Gilead took its rise from one such internal conflict. The first church, Old Bethel, located north of Goshen, had long served the community, when in 1866 it was shocked by the scandal of a century—one of its young women members gave birth to a Negro child. The majority of the church members wanted to turn her

out of the church. The father of the girl, a prominent and powerful member, threatened to oust the objectors themselves. In the fight, to the dismay of the majority, a fact was discovered that had been long forgotten and had never been of importance before, that the church property belonged to this man. Accordingly, ten of the protesting and progressive members withdrew with their families and organized another church. One of these charter members gave a two-acre plot of land south of Goshen, at the intersection of three main roads. Thus out of one conflict the beginnings of a new unity rose, for the establishment of a new church on the south of the swamp drew together groups that had previously been separated by it. The little building they erected, with its meager equipment, served for fifty years its puritanical membership and all the people around who chose to come. Old Bethel, left with only one influential family, survived but a few years.

With this background of unity and conflict in the major fields of community action, let us examine its manifestations in the life of this rural community for the last twenty-five or thirty years. These years, characterized by important changes in the economic, social and educational systems, form a somewhat distinct period in the history of the community. Especially is it a period in which the leadership has developed into a rather unique form of conflict.

Instances of United Action. One of the examples of united action occurred in 1895 when the community petitioned the United States Post Office Department for a rural free delivery route through this part of the county. A citizen of the neighborhood carried around the petition, secured the signature of every landowner in the community, and became the first mail carrier. This

was one of the first rural routes in North Carolina.

This same progressive spirit was exemplified in the school situation, though its working out was not so simple. In 1900, under the leadership of a young man influential in the church, the neighborhoods on the opposite sides of the swamp were brought to agree on a name and location for a school that would serve the whole community. Several meetings were held, and after much discussion of the advantages of coöperation, and some subordinating of individual interests and feelings, the three little neighborhood schools were consolidated into one to be located near the church and to use the church name. A two-acre plot of land was purchased, a one-room frame building was erected by volunteer service of the men of the community, and the leader of the consolidation movement became its first teacher. The county term was eked out to six months by private subscription, and in 1904 the district voted a special tax which enabled them to have a seven months' term. Following this good beginning, there was a steady increase in attendance, and in 1910 it gained an additional teacher. This two-teacher school served the community until 1915, when a portable building was put up to relieve congestion. Four teachers were employed, and Miss Lannie Fowler, a local teacher, a woman of strong character and executive ability, and related to some of the original and influential families of the community, was made principal.

Under her leadership, and ably supported by a progressive county superintendent, the school became the center and radial point of many activities. Coöperating in the work of the Farm and Home Demonstration Agents and the Farmers' Union, Miss Fowler aroused interest and so organized the community that for four years, 1915-1919, successful community fairs were held at Mt. Gilead.

The school building was used for displaying pantry supplies, the church was filled with exhibits of linens, and the back section of the church and school yards were fitted up for showing the stock and farm products. It was an occasion of harmonious working together of every family in the community save some tenants and one other who took no interest for reason of personal dislike of the school principal and her family connection. People came from considerable distances to visit this fair, and business men in Blacksburg became interested to the extent of donating the premiums. Indeed, so great did the general interest become that at the end of four years, when Miss Fowler had resigned, and the Farmers' Union was no longer so active, Blacksburg took over the fair and made it county wide.

School Consolidation Versus Religious Prejudice. With the growth and increasing interest in the school under this efficient principal, the subject of consolidation into a township school arose about 1917. Discussion went on in homes, at the stores, and even at church on meeting days. Sentiment was divided because Mr. Howard, one of the most influential leaders in the community, and a strict Baptist, was opposed to bringing to Mt. Gilead the children from the Methodist communities of Trinity, Sandy Bottom and Long's Chapel. Finally in 1921 the community had to choose between losing the school to one of those districts or taking them in and becoming itself the site of the consolidated school. Many really doubted if it could be carried over Mr. Howard's opposition, and consequently there was great surprise when the vote was overwhelmingly for consolidation. His opposition, however, was still a factor to be reckoned with. The old school grounds were too small, and it became necessary to purchase additional land. Since all the

land suitably located for this purpose was owned by Mr. Howard, he still was able to stand in the way of the successful completion of the enterprise. Finally the land was secured through the aid of several men in the community who advanced the money for the purpose until tax funds were available. In spite of this temporary setback, the erection of the new school building was begun with enthusiasm, and in ten months the well-equipped, fireproof brick building was ready for occupancy.

One week before the school was to open for its first term in the new building, there occurred a striking example of community enthusiasm. In response to a suggestion made in Mt. Gilead Sunday School it was agreed to observe a "Volunteer Clean-up Day," so as to put the new school building and grounds in order. To the surprise of the community leaders, every land-owner in the community was either present or sent help. Fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters met the last day of September and worked hard. They cleaned the new teacherage and school; they hauled off trash and builders' débris; they filled holes and leveled the yards. And then to finish off the job completely, they "pounded" the teachers upon their arrival with groceries of all kinds to supply their pantry. Opening day, October 6, saw the largest number of children and parents ever gathered at a school opening in the community.

The little school that had only fifty pupils in 1906 had grown into a consolidated school with an enrollment of 260. With its ten teachers, its junior high school, its four trucks to bring in the children who lived too far away to walk, it became a source of considerable pride to the community, and has gone far toward fulfilling the dreams of the early Mt. Gilead workers for educational opportunity.

A greater spirit of unity was evident during the years of the community fair which was sponsored by the school, and during the period preceding the opening of the consolidated school, than was ever present before, or has been since. For whether it grew out of the original opposition to the bringing of the Methodist children to Mt. Gilead, or whether it grew up naturally and without any inciting on the part of the leader of that opposition, the fact is very obvious that the people in the community do not mix well. Some group feeling is evident among the children on the school grounds, and even more evident among both children and parents in their dislike for recognition of the talents of the "outsiders," as they are called. For example, when in the spring of 1925 a boy and girl from the Trinity Methodist community won the $10 gold-pieces for being the best all-round pupils, ill feeling was aroused and the judges were subjected to much adverse criticism. The old-fashioned school-closing picnics still draw large crowds and have a unifying effect to a certain extent, but they are not characterized by the good will that existed before the consolidation. A lessening of denominational prejudice on the part of a very few in the Mt. Gilead community would help to bring about a better feeling. It goes without saying that the teachers in the early school were always Baptists; since the consolidation the principals have all been Baptists, while the teaching force and the school board have always been dominated by members of this denomination.

The school situation has recently contributed another episode that had a disorganizing effect on community spirit. Dissatisfaction with the principal employed at the time of consolidation in 1922 gradually increased until it became more or less of an issue. While she was an able woman, many felt that the development of the

school into a junior high school brought problems of discipline of the bigger boys, and of organizing athletics and boys' work in the community that a man could deal with better than she has been able to do. The men on the school board wanted the change, but Mrs. Howard, the wife of the most influential man in the community, and the only woman on the board, insisted on her retention. The conflict between Mrs. Howard and the other members of the board was very bitter, but the former, with the aid of her husband, won the support of the county superintendent of schools and secured the principal's reëlection to the great disappointment of many of the patrons of the school. As a result of this conflict, two members of the board became inactive, three of the teachers left the school, and the feeling was intensified that the principal was unduly catering to the wishes of the dominating family. The strength of this feeling can be seen from the fact that two families withdrew their membership from the church as a protest against Mrs. Howard's action in pressing the retention of the principal.

Farm Tenancy and the "Money Crop" System. In the economic life of the community there has been a steady increase in disorganizing factors in the last twenty-five years. With the rapid growth of Blacksburg as a tobacco market there has developed more and more emphasis on tobacco raising. Since many of the men interested in the tobacco warehouses own land in the surrounding territory, they naturally tend to put pressure on their tenants to cultivate this product. Cotton has, of course, long been a favorite crop, so that the increase in tobacco has meant a change in the type of farming. One consequence is that, while in some years the money return may be greater for the farmers, Blacksburg has been strengthening its position at the expense of its surround-

ing rural communities. The little country stores managed by local people that formerly served Mt. Gilead community and added something to its unity are now practically displaced by "trading" at Blacksburg.

Bound up also with this matter of one- or two-crop systems has been the important problem of farm tenancy. Land-owners who sell out and leave usually find buyers among the men already in the community who wish to add to their holdings, and this increases the amount of land to rent. Others move to Blacksburg, leaving their farms with tenants. So far has this movement gone that at the present time not much over 10 per cent of the land is actually cultivated by owners. Of the 140 white families, about half own some land, but in many cases the holdings are so small that they find it necessary to rent additional land. Most of these white tenants have moved into the community from other places, so that they are socially as well as economically somewhat apart from the land-owning families who are native to the community.

Of the 110 Negro families only about fifteen are land-owners. Their community life centers largely around their two Baptist churches. At the time of the consolidation, their school was annexed to one some three miles away. There are 312, or 81 per cent, of the Negro children of school age enrolled, thus showing somewhat more than average interest in school and appreciation of its importance. In general the relations between the races have been good, for the Negroes in the community are quiet and "know their place." So far there has been no great amount of competition between them and the white tenants, because some landlords prefer one and some the other.

On account of this large and growing number of tenants it is increasingly difficult to secure any sort of unity of

action along economic lines. The two attempts to organize the farmers for marketing very well illustrate the problem faced by rural organizers under conditions existing in the community. Black County organized a Farmers' Union in 1914. Mt. Gilead formed one of its five branches with a membership of twenty-four small farmers. With the members of the school board as leaders, this local Union met once a month and discussed economic, social and health conditions of the community. The members purchased fertilizer coöperatively at a considerable saving. The Unions of the County were directly responsible for convincing the County Commissioners of the need of Home and Farm Demonstration agents and a County Health department. One of the County Commissioners at the time happened to be an influential man from Mt. Gilead community, and through his interest and influence, the work of the local Union, and the school principal all working with the new county agents, a very active woman's club, boys' and girls' canning, pig and poultry clubs were formed. Farm and home betterment was emphasized by the clubs; representatives were sent to the special club courses at State College. The community fair described above was started, an annual picnic with speakers on community problems was held and altogether the direct and indirect effect of the work of the Union was a strongly organizing force in the community for several years. With the resignation of the school principal in 1919, interest in many of these phases of the work declined, and with the resignation of the first two county agents a little later, the clubs ceased to function, and the local Union passed out of existence.

With the rise of the tobacco coöperative association in 1922, Mt. Gilead organized a branch with practically the same group of men that had belonged to the old Union,

with the exception that Mr. Howard and one other large land-owner would not join nor allow their tenants to do so. These two men, together with five non-resident land-owners interested in tobacco warehouses, managed to keep the local branch from being of much force in the community. The new association also was undermined by the fact that the farmers who sold in the auction market received higher prices for their tobacco than did those who remained loyal to the coöperative movement. As a result contracts were broken, men fined, cases were tried in court, and the whole movement soon fell to pieces. The cotton association met with a little more success in selling crops, but as it, too, was made up of small farmers, it had no great influence.

Economic and Moral Conflict Between Leaders. The greatest source of disorganization in the economic field, however, centers around Mr. Howard and Mr. Armfield, the latter a warehouse man of Blacksburg who owns considerable property and whose family is related to many in the community. Mr. Howard, a member of one of the older families, had some property, married a woman with more, and by his business acumen has been able to add vastly to his holdings. He lives near the church and has gradually bought up land near him till he owns everything in that vicinity. He rents to Negroes and to a low class of white people who seem satisfied with the barest sort of existence. Whether it is because they are poor workers and poorer managers, or because Mr. Howard has a facility for gaining the advantage in all his dealings with other people, at any rate his tenants nearly always end the year in debt to him and so must remain and "work it out." He "runs" them on a time basis from his store, and feels that if he feeds them he has done all that is required, and they should make no

complaint; and, in fact, they do not. He owns three stores in the Mt. Gilead and near-by communities, which do comparatively little business except furnish supplies to his tenants. He has a saw mill that saws about 300,000 feet of lumber a year, and a cotton gin that handles an average of 500 bales of cotton, most of which is produced on his land.

Mr. Armfield has some land, a corn mill, a cotton gin and a store in the community, which makes him a strong competitor of Mr. Howard. Friction sometimes develops between the two men, especially when an attempt is made to line up their following in the patronage of their enterprises. This friction was considerably increased five years ago when Mr. Armfield, developing his wife's property along Goshen Swamp, improved the old mill pond, making a beautiful artificial lake covering 150 acres on the shores of which he established a recreation park. This park, equipped with facilities for swimming, boating and fishing, is the only place of its kind in Black County, and so attracts crowds from far and near, and is a favorite place for picnics. Sunday is, of course, the biggest day except legal holidays, and receipts have run as high as $400 on special days.

Formerly the rivalry between these two men was limited to their various business enterprises. Since the opening of Cedar Lake as a recreation park, the rivalry has moved over into the moral and religious field. Mr. Howard is the embodiment of the old puritanical ideas that have existed in this community through all its history, and he is the leader of all who retain them, of whom there is still probably a majority. He objects to public bathing beaches and pools, to dancing, card playing and going to the movies. He considers, and has said as much, that Cedar Lake is the Devil's Paradise. His disapproval of

this pleasure resort is heightened by the fact that it is only a quarter of a mile from the church, so that its Sunday crowds of outsiders distract somewhat from the church worship. In his stand against these forms of recreation he is supported by many in the community who retain the ideas frequently held in rural communities, that it is a sin to dance and play cards, and patronize a recreational park on Sundays. On the other hand, there is a growing group, especially among the young people, to whom the park makes a strong appeal, and who are getting away from the older conservative ideas in regard to recreation. Besides, Mr. Armfield's personality and attitude gain support. He pays no attention to Mr. Howard's opposition and hard words; he has gained friends by his accommodating policy of allowing those who wish to wire their houses and use the electric current from the power line he built from Blacksburg for his Cedar Lake enterprise; and he gets the attention of every one by two big barbecue dinners each year, one before the opening of Cedar Lake in the spring and one before the opening of the tobacco market, late in summer. These have become almost community meetings. So far does Mr. Armfield carry his disregard of Mr. Howard's opposition that he has always sent him an invitation to these dinners along with all the other men of the community. Mr. Howard ignored these invitations until last September, when, to the surprise of every one, he was present. It is thought by many in the community that this is a sign that Mr. Howard's opposition is lessening, and they look forward to coöperation between these two leaders in launching a constructive recreation program. With his ideas of recreation and his opinion of Cedar Lake, however, this will be a hard thing for Mr. Howard to do.

Unity and Conflict in the Religious Field. The

division of opinion in the church on the subject of recreation is only one of several disorganizing forces in that field of community life. And again much of it centers around Mr. Howard. A native of the community, though of a less influential family, he may be said to have married into his position of leadership. His wife's father had long been one of the most prominent members of Mt. Gilead, her uncles and brothers were also influential, and Mr. Howard, having a flair for leadership, was able, through the prestige of his wife's family, to become an important factor in community affairs.

In church activities, as we have seen in other fields, there have been several illustrations of the ability of the people of this community to work together. The "vocal union," very popular twenty or twenty-five years ago, was an activity sponsored by the church in which the people heartily participated. A traveling singing teacher would organize a class of the younger people for sight and chorus singing at Mt. Gilead church and at the two Methodist churches some five or six miles away. After a week's teaching at each church, he would leave, but the vocal union would continue as a singing club led by some local member. Mr. Howard and several members of his family were interested in music and also interested in this as a phase of the work of the church. The vocal unions of the three churches would hold joint meetings at each church in rotation. While the very fact of getting together for this purpose showed some willingness to coöperate, nevertheless denominational and church lines were always held in mind, and each group was jealous of the others and ever conscious of its church affiliation. The strength of these denominational loyalties has already been brought out in connection with the story of school consolidation.

Another unifying factor was, and still is to a certain extent, the three weeks' summer revival for which Mt. Gilead has long been famous. Evangelists of the emotional type lead them; people come from all the surrounding territory; there are many conversions, a big baptizing, formerly at Cedar Lake, but since it has become a recreation park, in some stream outside the community; and then there is enough backsliding to make the process necessary again next year.

Conflict of Church Leaders. In spite of these examples of coöperative efforts, it must be confessed that church conflicts stand out prominently in the history of the community and have resulted in much disorganization. In these church conflicts denominational rivalry between the Baptists and Methodists has played some part, as has already been mentioned. But chief responsibility for the disorganizing influence of the church in this community must be laid at the door of Mr. Howard, one of its most outstanding church leaders. His dogmatic, monopolistic attitude has prevented at least one prominent man of the community from joining the church for a number of years. In 1916 the congregation decided to remodel the old church built in 1866. Mr. Howard gave part of the building materials, and Mr. Harris, a metal dealer in Blacksburg, but formerly of this community and retaining his membership here, gave the slate roofing and metal ceiling. A controversy rose between the two men over plans, and Mr. Howard, because of his prestige in the community, was the winner. As a result, Mr. Harris and his family and two families that supported him in the controversy moved their membership to Blacksburg. In 1925 when eight Sunday School class rooms were added and electric lights installed, much the same thing oc-

curred, for Mr. Howard overruled his opponent, who, with his family, moved out.

Young people's organizations were started in 1914, but died early because those with ability to lead could not get a following on account of family jealousies. Attempts were repeated in 1923 and the results were the same. It has never been possible to enlist the interest of the young people as the vocal unions did their mothers and fathers, and few of them take an active part in religious affairs. And yet, in some ways the church has been able to maintain itself and give evidence of progress, as, for example, the building program of the last decade, and the employment a few years ago of a full-time pastor for the first time in all its long history. Mr. Howard gave a parsonage near the church, so that the pastor now lives in the community. He recently gave also a plot to the church for a cemetery, adjoining his own family graveyard.

Many feel that the church has become a family institution belonging to Mr. Howard and his immediate relatives. His wife has been church treasurer for many years, and last year a nephew succeeded Mr. Howard as superintendent of the Sunday School, an office he had held for forty years. To be sure, he is really and deeply devoted to Mt. Gilead, but his devotion is too selfish and his leadership too dogmatic for the best interests of the church, as it curbs other leaders and drives out members. Considered "stingy and grasping" in business dealings, he is very liberal in his contributions to the church, but his giving has often been linked up with discord in which strong members have been lost. Indirectly a further cause of disintegration in the church results from his policy, of many years standing, of buying up all the land available in the community. Through his land accumula-

tions, he has surrounded the church and school with tenants, and has added greatly to the tenant population of the community. More and more the old community of comfortable land-owning church members has been supplanted by a community of tenants, whose tenure is too short and uncertain for them to take much interest in local affairs.

Present Trends. As will be realized from the description of the economic and church situations, the social life of the community is turning toward Blacksburg more and more. With the good roads and automobiles, everybody lives within easy access to this city. Many of the former residents of Mt. Gilead now live there, and except for the summer months of recreation at Cedar Lake, when Blacksburg comes to them, the young people find little in the community to interest them, and find an increasing number of things in the live and growing city.

The quiet prosperous country community lying about Mt. Gilead has had, all things considered, a fairly eventful and changeful history, if we examine the forces that have molded its community life. With many evidences of inclination toward unity—method of settlement, family relationships, religious unity, economic similarity and sufficiency, educational progress, and able leadership—it has nevertheless managed to remain in many respects a highly disorganized community. For its method of settlement and its blood relationships have often been the cause of hard feelings; its church and school were centers of conflict because so many were interested in having their own way with these institutions; its economic system has long been leading into increasingly difficult problems of tenancy, "money-crop" system and virtual control by the near-by city; and finally its able leaders have often been at cross purposes with each other. Probably at no time in its history have the combined forces of disorganization

been greater than at present, and one of the chief reasons for the present difficulty is the type of leadership. Mr. Howard, long the most influential citizen, has been unable to work with other leaders in any branch of community life, so that we find him the radial point for dissension with one or more different men in each field. Many in the community see his failings both as a leader and as a Christian citizen, but his position as the most important man in the community for so long has given him prestige, his business shrewdness has given him power, while his dominating personality has given him the will to lead. Some rebel inwardly, some grumble to each other, others point out plainly the ill effect of his leadership upon the community; but after all, following him has become almost a habit, and in all but a few things people have followed him or gotten out. In earlier years he was more nearly in step with the community about him, which partly accounts for his established position. As social and religious ideas have changed, he has not gone along with them, but has remained the conservative of thirty years ago.

And yet Mt. Gilead is, on the whole, a good community in which to live. The standard of living of landowners and of at least the more progressive tenants is high, and the people, while not as a rule highly educated, are cultured and refined. They are also sociably inclined, and are capable of working together on many matters touching community welfare. As a community it shows willingness to try out new things, and with the right sort of leadership it has great possibilities of further community development.

CHAPTER IX

ALBANY: STABILITY AND CHANGE IN A RURAL COMMUNITY

Introductory Note. The process of social change, whereby adjustments are made to new conditions, by no means proceeds in a uniform manner. While externally at least the social organization of rural districts in this country has conformed to a certain, well-recognized type, the adaptation of rural institutions and traditions to a changing world seems to vary widely in different communities. In the story of Mt. Gilead, related in the preceding chapter, the transition from the old to the new involved much conflict between conservative and forward-looking leaders with the result that disorganization characterized many aspects of community life. Albany, on the contrary, went through this process of adjustment to modern conditions with a minimum of conflict and apparently with little or no sense of failure or loss. With the stage set for religious conflict when the religious unity of the early period was destroyed by the organization of the Methodist and Baptist churches and by the later arrival of the Catholics, these religious differences never became a factor of any great importance. Church rivalry, at times, was keen but it did not spill over into the administration of other community activities.

Throughout the history of this community, the people in spite of their remoteness from large centers, showed a remarkable tolerance toward new ideas and customs. While their small and scattered population and meager

economic resources handicapped the development of their social institutions, the community was not dominated by a narrow or provincial outlook on life. Many of the people traveled to near-by and distant places, sent their children to college, and maintained various contacts with the outside world without losing their feelings of loyalty for their old surroundings. Amid all the encroachments of modern thought and new methods, the community has preserved an unusual balance between stability and change, and thereby has been able to bridge the period of transition during the past few decades with fewer evidences of disorganization than is usually the case in rural communities.

The Community and Its Setting. The northern counties of New Hampshire and Vermont have a common heritage of history, of soil and natural features, of dialect and of rural life. The casual tourist would not be able to distinguish one town from another, but would have an impression of small, well-tilled farms showing a variety of crops and pasturing fat cattle. The villages would be no more easily distinguishable, and would present a composite picture of neatly-kept small homes and white, tall-spired churches. It might also be noticed that the people are well-dressed, drive good cars, and have a general air of well-being. Any further observation would probably have to do with hills and wooded mountains, with streams and lakes of clear blue water, with vistas through arching trees and panoramas of a green countryside. After a day's motoring the visitor would conclude that he had seen it all, and that would be true, from one standpoint, since in that time he could easily cross both states.

The student of social conditions in rural New England needs first of all to grasp the fact and the import of its

small size. Vermont, with which this study is especially concerned, ranks forty-second in area among the states of the Union. It is only one hundred and sixty miles long and less than forty miles wide at its narrowest point, though twice that width in the section of the state under consideration. This small area, together with the irregular topography and comparative remoteness from large centers, has influenced its institutions, and left its mark upon the social and psychic life of the people. The Green Mountains, whose ranges traverse the entire state from north to south, furnish a laboratory for the observation of many social conditions and problems.

One of the traditions of the state, in common with the rest of New England, is the custom of considering the town or township as the unit for the local government. Here town and township are used interchangeably to indicate a rural section of a few miles square, probably with one or more villages which serve as trading centers. Several towns are grouped together to form a county, but the latter has little significance except in handling legal and criminal matters. Each county has a shire town or county seat where court is held and where the jail is located. Some counties appoint officers for the general supervision of roads and schools, but more often each town assumes the entire responsibility.

The township of Albany, as surveyed in 1788, comprises an area six miles square, in the west central part of Orleans County, which is one of the three northern counties of Vermont. This places the town about twenty miles from the Canadian border. The most prominent natural features of Albany are its hills and valleys, its lakes and streams. On its western side is the Black River valley, a fertile meadow bordering the winding course of a stream flowing north toward Lake Memphramagog. This valley

is shadowed by a range of the Green Mountains, which is within the confines of other towns. The eastern side is composed of rocky hills watered by small streams, some of which have falls of one hundred and fifty feet. There are five lakes and ponds in the town, and the whole section is eloquent of glacial action.

Early History. The first record of town organization bears the date of 1806, at which time there were not over fifteen families in Albany, all widely scattered, in the four corners of the town, separated by miles of unbroken forest. In addition to choosing officers, this first town meeting was held "to see how much money the town will raise to defray town charges"; and "to see what method the town will take for the support of schools." The town fathers voted $40 for roads and bridges, but nothing for schools. The growth of the settlement was retarded by this early lack of educational facilities, and by the severity of the Charter, which specified that each property-holder should cultivate as much as five acres of land and build a house whose floor should be at least eighteen feet square, within a period of four years. Every foot of tillable land had first to be cleared and much of this hard-won soil was interspersed with rocks and ledges on steep hillsides. With only a few primitive tools and perhaps a pair of oxen such a task might well test the strength of the hardiest pioneer, especially in a climate that blankets the earth with several feet of snow for four or five months every year. According to the terms of the Charter, if the conditions were not met the land reverted to the freemen of the state, to be regranted. This was so discouraging to landholders that for several years the newcomers barely equaled those who were obliged to forfeit their claims.

In 1815 the present name of Albany was given to the

town at a meeting of the Vermont Assembly. Previously it had been called Lutterloh, in memory of Col. Lutterloh, who had been instrumental in procuring the Charter. There was great excitement among the townspeople over the change of name, and out of the heat of discussion seems to have emerged a new civic consciousness. At any rate the development of the town began at this time. Still further impetus was given to its growth by the lease lands, which were now made available for a low purchase price, but for which a continuous annual rental has to be paid to the state for the support of colleges and the university.

Early in the nineteenth century all the more remote northern counties were being settled. Albany had an accessible means of approach in an old military road which crossed a corner of the town, and the soil was fertile, even if not always conveniently arranged for cultivation. Land was cheaper than in the adjoining towns, because the Charter had been obtained jointly by several interested citizens. The usual custom was for some rich landholder to buy the Charter, thus coming into possession of most of the town land, from whose sale he exacted a comfortable profit for himself.

The main streams of population that fed the growing settlement flowed from the more thickly-settled towns of central Vermont and New Hampshire, a distance of some fifty miles. Some families migrated a distance of two hundred miles from towns in Massachusetts.

In 1817 the town was divided into five school districts, after a tax of two cents on the dollar had been voted for school support. The next year a militia company was formed and a Town House was erected. The latter served as a community center for many years. Here were held not only town meetings, but church services and school

sessions as well. It was built at the Center, a village which clustered around a "common" that had been donated to the town from adjacent farms.

The town prior to 1825 possessed few of the characteristics of a community and was in fact nothing more than an arbitrary geographical section, within which were scattering, stump-filled farms having rough log houses and barns. Trade was by barter almost exclusively; at first with Indians, who were friendly visitors upon occasion. At an early town meeting it was "voted to pay a Bounty of $3 a head for all bears that may be killed by the inhabitants of the town, said bears to be started in said town." Such roads as there were led from farm to farm, with no idea of connecting with other towns, and many of these roads were scarcely more than trails. Equality and independence were the outstanding traits of the period, as was quite natural where there was no rich charterman to control affairs and to accentuate the general poverty by his wealth.

Religious Life. In the earliest days no public worship was possible, except for an occasional meeting at some farm. After the Town House and school houses were built, with roads leading to them, religious services became more regular, but there was no resident minister until 1827. The first settlers were nearly all Congregationalists, and about 1830 they felt able, numerically and financially, to build a church. However, the church members were so divided over the choice of a location that the minister left and the project had to be postponed. Meanwhile some Methodists had come to town and felt moved to build a chapel. This added tinder to the conflagration and feeling ran high until the Congregationalists finally succeeded in building a meeting-house in 1841. By this time a few Baptists had moved to Albany,

and after borrowing the Methodist chapel for a while they erected a house of worship in 1842. This was somewhat premature and they were still laboring under a burden of debt when the Congregational church was burned four years later. The Baptists then offered to sell half their building to the Congregationalists to be used jointly. While not an ideal arrangement it seemed expedient, and this unusual partnership continued amicably for twenty years. By that time the Congregationalists were able to rebuild, and sold back their interests in the Baptist edifice. The Methodist chapel and the first Congregational church were at the Center near the Town House, but a village had been growing at a point near Black River a mile and a half west. This was more accessible and a more natural trade center, and was the logical site for the new churches. At the time of all this religious activity in the western part of the town, a small group of "Free Will" Baptists built a church on the Creek road near the northeast corner of the town, and the village of South Albany, or the South Village, elected to become Wesleyan Methodist. This was a sect which withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal body when anti-slavery feeling ran high, and was animated by a militant urge to do battle against sin in all its forms. In 1871 a few Irish farmers who had settled in the eastern part of the town were infected with the desire for religious expression, and built a small Catholic church. There were then six churches in this town of less than eight hundred inhabitants.

At the present time most of these small churches have been discontinued. The Congregational church was disbanded in 1915, some years after the Baptist Society had disappeared. The two Methodist bodies agreed to come into the same fellowship and for twenty-five years have

jointly employed a pastor who lives sometimes in one parish and sometimes in the other. At a time of very low ebb they combined with the Methodists in the adjoining town of Irasburg, the pastor becoming virtually a circuit rider in ministering to his three parishes. During 1926-27, however, they have manifested a new lease of life, so much so that chairs have to be borrowed to accommodate the congregations, and the support of half a minister is no longer a difficult task. The other Protestants either adapt themselves to Methodist doctrines and mode of worship or drive to near-by towns for their church services.

Educational Facilities. While during the early years school funds were hard to raise, yet as the population grew and the roads improved education became a major interest. School directors were appointed, and increasing school taxes were voted. In 1870 there were fifteen school districts, nearly all with adequate buildings and equipment. In addition there was a two-room Academy at the village, and money was regularly voted for state-supported schools and colleges. Many of the young people have always gone away to school for at least a few terms and many have obtained college degrees. At present nearly every family sends its young people away for high school, college, or professional training. The town pays about $1,000 a year for advanced school tuition since there is no local high school. Altogether the annual school budget is $10,000, for which sum nine schools are maintained. Four of these are "standard schools," which means that they conform to the state standard as to grading and equipment. There is a minimum requirement of 34 weeks in each school year, and all teachers must have received not less than one year of training in addition to being high school graduates. All are one-

teacher schools except that at the village, which has two teachers.

Local Government. Albany has from the first been organized according to the prevailing Vermont system of local government, wherein the town serves as the unit. The officers are: three selectmen, one chosen each year for a three-year term; three school directors; two road commissioners; clerk; treasurer; grand-juror; overseer of the poor; fence-viewers; and justices of the peace. Officers are supposed to be, and usually are, chosen on their merits as town elections are innocent of party politics, since a Democrat is a phenomenon rarely encountered. What differences arise are sectional, for east and west sides sometimes fail to see eye to eye. The division is more apt to be over roads or matters of policy than over officers, and is usually worked off in town-meeting eloquence. Women have long had a share in civic duties even before they were accorded voting privileges. Their conspicuous successes as regards office-holding have been in the positions of clerk and school director. It is customary for them to attend political meetings, such as are held before state and national elections.

Industrial Development. In spite of abundant water power, industry has never been a factor in town development. There were in early days gristmills and sawmills, a tannery, and a wool-carding and cloth-dressing factory, all existing to supply local needs and operated largely by farmers in the intervals of seasonal work. Since 1900 sawmills and a creamery have been the only industries, the latter not strictly local as it was owned and operated by a chain company. It was not rebuilt after it burned several years ago and one small sawmill at the village is the sole survivor.

Travel and Communication. As long as the roads

served chiefly for travel from one farm to another the most important highways led over the hills. These were often impassable during winter snows, and as settlements became more numerous in the Black River valley the river road became the main western thoroughfare, connecting the old military road with the towns to the north. A similar change took place along the Creek on the east side. Roads are built and maintained by the citizens in the intervals of farm work, their labor being paid for by the town at prevailing rates. In addition to the dirt roads usual in rural districts the main connecting roads are state highways of excellent construction, kept in repair by road patrols. An annual appropriation is made for the use of chlorine to abate the dust. Practically every family owns a car, three-fourths of them above the Ford class, and many of the six-cylinder type. Public means of transportation include daily stages from the nearest railroad towns, ten and fourteen miles away, respectively. The main roads have daily truck service for freight and deliveries of foodstuffs. Practically all farms have rural free delivery of mail.

The telephone is another important factor in communication. The New England Telephone Company has served the state for thirty years, but the rates were too high to please some of the thrifty citizens. Farmers from several towns got together and formed an independent company which now serves at least four counties. A low flat rate is charged, with no extras for toll calls, and so successful are the farmer-capitalists that in addition to paying a much lower rate for their telephones they are receiving dividends on their investments. Whatever the financial benefits may have been, the most important results of the venture have undoubtedly been the experience in coöperation and in business methods.

Home ownership is practically universal, both on farms and in the village. Since 1915 all purchasers of farms have been handicapped at the start by excessively high prices, and have been obliged to mortgage their property heavily. For some years previous to this there was a growing number of vacant farms but the prices were affected by wartime inflation.

Coming of the French Canadians. French Canadian families began coming across the border during the World War to escape high taxes and strict rationing, and bought many of the vacant farms. In some cases these people were without experience in agricultural work and were ill-adapted to rural life. They were thrifty and hard-working, however, and made every effort to support their large families and pay their mortgages. Since they were more familiar with industrial practices than with agriculture they were inclined to depart from the local farming traditions and make money by selling their dairies, and turning their maple trees into pulpwood, and by utilizing their water power and acres of woodland for bobbin mills and cedar oil "stills."

There appears to have been no hostility to these newcomers even though they were not enthusiastically welcomed. The differences of language, religion, and standards of living precluded easy acquaintance and at first there were many conflicts arising from misunderstanding. After a decade of adjustment these difficulties have now been largely overcome. The French Catholics have no church, but join the Irish Catholics at East Albany, or in some instances attend the Irasburg Church. These two churches are in the care of one priest, who lives at Irasburg. Considerable resentment and friction existed at first between the French and the Irish, so that their relations were less harmonious than the secular contacts of

Catholics and Protestants. The French children rapidly became Americanized at school, and their fathers learn the language and at the instigation of the priests are taking out citizenship papers. The mothers are eager to conform to local standards, though most of them do not speak English. About one-fourth of the total population of 820 are now French, and the number is increasing.

Even before the coming of the French the character of farming was changing somewhat. While originally every farm was self-sustaining there is now more emphasis on money crops. Maple sugar, dairy products, and lumber rank first as sources of income, while surplus crops of apples, potatoes and the like find a market. The general sentiment is against raising wheat and other crops which are not likely to do well because of the severity of the climate. Adequate machinery is to be found on nearly all farms. Electric power was brought from a neighboring town in 1914, and in addition to lighting and household use it operates some farm machinery, particularly milking machines. Probably one-fourth of the dairies in town are equipped in this way.

Social and Health Problems. A serious lag in social progress is the lack of public health facilities. There is no resident doctor, dentist, or nurse and no medical inspection in the schools, though this latter subject is being agitated. This lag is perhaps not so serious as it sounds, taken out of its setting, since the state as a whole is just awaking to a public health consciousness. The services of doctors and dentists are available from near-by towns, and there are several hospitals within an hour's drive. There is not, however, proper attention to quarantining and to hygienic standards.

Bootlegging is a common thing, as in all towns near the border, but little of this evil can be laid at the door of

citizens. In nearly all cases it is planned and carried out by city "professionals." The farmers, who suffer from theft and the general lawlessness that seems to be an accompaniment of the business, are ready to coöperate with the enforcement officers.

The handling of social problems presents few difficulties; the subtleties of public opinion settle most maladjustments before they reach the proportions of problems. Divorce and desertion are very unusual. The small amount of illegitimacy that occurs usually concerns young people who subsequently marry. Gossip is then stilled and the new family received into good and regular standing in the community. Except for one murder, there is no record of major crime in the town. Such arrests as occur are nearly always for theft or intoxication. There was for many years a poor farm, but there were few paupers, and temporary relief was required more often to meet some family emergency. The present method is to board out the paupers, when there are any, at the expense of the town. In 1926 the overseer reported aid given to eight families. In five cases the amount was small, chiefly for medical service. Two of the others, which totaled half the entire amount spent for poor relief, were for the care of feeble-minded families.

Social Life and Organization. Because of the improved means of communication neither Albany nor the adjacent towns are any longer isolated units, self-sufficient and provincial. Instead there exists a stimulating competition and a recognition of common interests. The people who do not find satisfaction in the Methodist fold go to neighboring towns for their church life. There is no Masonic Lodge at Albany, so the members of that order must go elsewhere for their meetings. Those interested

in cultural pursuits have long been accustomed to drive to a larger town for lectures, concerts, and drama, and the automobile facilitates this custom. Attendance is general at fairs and Chautauquas held in other towns.

This ease of communication probably explains the disappearance of most of the little villages that were once centers for trade and community interests. People now go as easily to larger and more differentiated towns. East Albany and the South Village are now little more than neighborhoods, while the Center is marked only by a cemetery. West Albany, or The Village, as it can now safely be called, has undergone little change. It is neat and sleepily attractive, its sixty or seventy houses half hidden among huge maple trees. It has a post office and two general stores, a sawmill and service station, a church and town hall. The latter was built for the Congregational Church, and served for many years as their place of worship. When the Congregational Society disbanded, a few citizens bought the building and presented it to the town for its present purpose. The interior has been remodeled and is used for town-meetings, public lectures and entertainments, and rented to the Grange and other groups.

The Grange is the most influential organization in Albany at present. It has a representative membership, and while the meetings are largely for social purposes and include dances and amateur dramatics, the programs are constructive and make some attempt at community betterment. The town hall shelters a library of over 1,200 volumes which is supported by gifts and staffed by public-spirited women. Commercial amusements gain little foothold in Albany. Movies were attempted but proved unsuccessful. While the annual lecture course of four or five entertainments and lectures is well patronized,

traveling troupes are frowned upon when not sponsored by a reputable bureau.

There is coöperation and pleasant social life in most neighborhoods. Fathers meet to plant shrubbery and trees in the school yards, and to put up swings and other playground apparatus. Neighbors coöperate in carrying butter and other products to market. Most farms have running water piped from mountain springs or drawn up by a windmill, and two or more people often share in maintaining and using the water system. While there is a Fire Company at the village, most farms rely for fire protection on the good will of the neighbors. Card parties, informal clubs of various sorts and school affairs supply the pattern for many neighborhood gatherings. There is no official Parent-Teacher Association, but one of the most effective means of growth in racial understanding is through parental contacts at the schools. Radios play an increasing part in neighborhood life.

There are two occasions for almost complete coöperation and interest: the community fair and the observance of special days. The fair has been an annual event for five years and is largely the project of the Grange. It is on the order of the county fair, with a parade and athletic events, exhibits of pure-bred cattle and farm produce, and of food and needlework by the women. Practically every family in the community finds congenial activity in one or more of these events, and observers come from all the towns round about. Of particular importance is the unity of interest between the east and west sides of the town. Never before have they had much in common, but now for one day in the year they join in upholding traditions of thoroughbred stock and super-potatoes, while the French add their inimitable touches of color to parade and handicrafts, and the youth of both sections

and races compete in friendly rivalry for athletic honors.

While the fair is potent for uniting races and sections, the value of the observance of special days lies more particularly in the harmony of past and present, and fosters local pride in a somewhat different way. The most important of these occasions are Memorial Day and Old Home Day, and on both days many former residents make it a point to return. The fact that the Memorial Day exercises center around the cemetery may partly account for the care bestowed upon it. At any rate no neglect is allowed to mar the dignity of the forefathers' resting-place. Old Home Day is a less solemn occasion of reunion and remembrance, marked by speeches and poetic effort. A similar reunion celebrating the Centennial of one of the school districts recently brought together many former pupils and teachers, and the roll call was answered from California to Florida.

It may be fitting to place Town Meeting Day in this category of special days since it is a traditional and powerful unifying force in community life. On that day in March, usually in a snowy, blustering wind, the voters gather at the town hall to arrange affairs for another year. Much of this is accomplished by informal discussion, accompanied by unrelated conversation, so that the actual voting is a small part of the procedure. Long before the era of equal suffrage the Town Mothers had an important part in the rites: that of providing an enormous dinner to sustain the citizens in their administrative tasks. These primary contacts of the entire community have had a value much greater than it might appear to the uninitiated.

Traits and Attitudes. Although seemingly remote, Albany has few of the earmarks of isolation to-day. Indeed it has felt itself to be on the "World's Highway" from the days when its length was traversed by a post

road connecting Montreal and Burlington. While farmers are not addicted to annual vacations, there have been some in every generation who have traveled widely enough to gain a broad outlook. Horizons have also been kept wider by the visits of former residents and their descendants, for there have been so many emigrations that more Vermonters are said to live in the Middle West and on the Pacific coast than in their native state, and Albany has had its share in this movement.

One trait of remoteness that is shared by most other towns in the vicinity is indifference to tourists. There is no inn and scarcely a place in the town where a meal could be purchased. To be sure there is no hostility to strangers, and nearly all homes would offer hospitality to an unexpected guest, but no pay would be expected, and there would always be a guest-host relationship of equality. The prevailing opinion is that "paying guests" are not desirable or orthodox sources of income. Such a concept implies a breach of hospitality and also connotes a feeling of inferiority attaching to acceptance of pay for rendering service. No stigma comes from labor—in fact versatility and expertness are sources of pride—but only from the idea of remuneration. Perhaps this partly explains why "hired men" and "hired girls" are such rare specimens, so that both indoor and outdoor work must be so planned that it can largely be accomplished by members of the family. Hence there is often a seasonal interchange of work, particularly but not exclusively among the men. Jones, who "got behind with his haying," will ask Smith for a few days' help. There is no mention of money, but when Smith is cutting corn or chopping wood, and another "hand" would be advantageous, Jones repays his indebtedness in kind. There have been instances of two men whose farms adjoined carrying on a continuous partnership for many years, doing practically all their

work together, first on one farm and then on the other, with mutual advantages of efficiency and companionship.

In times of sickness or disaster all the neighbors vie with each other in giving assistance, and would be insulted by an offer of payment. After a house has been burned the unfortunate family receives gifts of clothing and household equipment, of food and fuel, to last until a new start can be made, and perhaps several days' labor toward the erection of the new house. The starched uniform of the professional nurse is seldom seen, for neighbors expect to help when sickness visits a household. It is not unusual for a farmer and his wife to go, after their own day's work is done, to "sit up with" some neighbor who is seriously ill and needs constant attention, in order to relieve the afflicted family for a few hours. In cases of protracted illness the neighbors agree on a schedule, certain persons to be responsible for specific duties or periods of service. This unprofessional care implies no lack of efficiency, for the fundamentals of nursing are included in the comprehensive lore of skills handed down from one generation to another. Nor is tradition relied upon exclusively, but is supplemented by reading and discussion of modern methods.

Perhaps this suggests the keynote of Albany's attitude. It clings fervently to its traditions but adapts them to a changing world. It is conservative but not hidebound, individualistic but not intolerant, remote but not isolated. Life has a tempo slow enough to allow for reflection and the exercise of discrimination; with the result that when new ways are admitted to the mores they have real value and are adapted to the needs of the community. Thus the people have a poise and assurance usually associated only with cosmopolitan experience, coupled with alertness and simple human kindliness.

CHAPTER X

BIG LICK: A TOWN DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF

Introductory Note. One cannot proceed far in a study of communities without discovering vast differences in what might be called their psychic nature or personality. Each community has an individuality of its own, determined by such factors as its location, economic basis, past history, types of people together with their traditions, customs, and attitudes. Some places are characterized by a spirit of progressiveness where it is easy to secure support for forward-looking enterprises; others are conservative and too strongly dominated by loyalty to the past to welcome social change; still others are so torn by discord and divided interests that coöperative effort becomes out of the question.

While this wide variation in attitudes and traditions is by no means easy to measure accurately, the general nature of most communities is readily apparent to the close observer or at least can be determined by careful study. The frontier lumber town of Big Lick described in this chapter may be regarded as representative of those disorganized communities that are characterized by disunity and lack of coöperation. In this community, the two opposing groups were set off from each other by a railroad which ran through the middle of the town thus dividing it into two distinct sections. This physical structure of the community, while by no means the cause of its divided interests, greatly facilitated the development of unfriendly attitudes and tends to give them a

permanency that they otherwise might not have possessed.

Ordinarily the domination of a town by a single industry might be expected to exert a unifying influence. Certainly during its early years of development, this would tend to be the case. But after the expansion of such a town to include a business and residential section independent of the basic industry, a division of interest is likely to arise. In the cotton mill town of Ferrum described in a previous chapter, the mill employees were regarded as belonging to a lower social and economic class and therefore exercised little influence on town affairs. The lumber industry in Big Lick, on the other hand, maintained its prestige and continued to dominate the situation as the town grew in size. Since White City, as the mill section of the town was called, remained self-centered, looked down upon the people living on the other side of the railroad, and declined to share in the civic enterprises of the entire town, disorganization became inevitable. Apparently, it was the impermanency of the location of the lumber mill that brought about this unfortunate attitude on the part of White City. The fact that within a few decades, at most, the lumber industry must move on to new territory would seem to explain, if not justify, the mill officials' lack of interest in the future of the town.

Lack of capable leadership among the business men of Big Lick played its part also in the town's failure to advance its civic interests. Along with their failure to work together for the common good, there existed to a marked degree a provincial attitude and narrow outlook on life which apart from the town's division into two sections would alone have greatly retarded the town's progress. With no influential, forward-looking groups in the com-

munity to overcome the various factors making for disorganization, there is small possibility that the town will in the near future make itself a more attractive and wholesome place in which to live.

Big Lick and Its People. In the southeastern part of Oklahoma, altogether removed from the hustling oil section of the northern and western part of the state, lie the pine forests which extend from Arkansas through a corner of Oklahoma to Texas. There, in the heart of the wooded country, is the little town of Big Lick which owes its existence to the Lerch Lumber Company, a huge concern with its headquarters in St. Louis, and branches in many of the southern and western states. In 1912 this lumber company bodily moved its mill and employees from the outworn lumber section in Arkansas to this heavily wooded region, as yet untouched. At the new location of this lumber mill, a town grew up almost overnight and was given the name of Big Lick, in memory, one might say, of a similar town in another state, which the Lerch Lumber Company had first created and later deserted.

With the exception of the small business section, comprising a few stores, the two moving picture houses, the bank, and the brick building containing the post office and the offices of the two doctors and lawyers of which the town boasts, everything in Big Lick is either owned or controlled by the lumber company, even to the branch railroad which connects it with the outside world. Of the town's three thousand inhabitants, seven hundred are mill people whom the lumber company brought from the defunct mill at Pine Fork. In addition there are some one thousand to fifteen hundred who comprise the floating workers to man the "log teams" which go and come on the "uncut lands" surrounding Big Lick. These temporary

employees, usually working during the summer and fall months, live in frame shacks, sometimes erected on the Company's partially cleared lands, sometimes in Big Lick proper. Many of them return to their mountain cabins in the winter. They are typical hill-folk, having little share in the life of the town. Shut in by the low range of hills rising just back of the pine forests on the outskirts of Big Lick, they seldom venture far from their native haunts and know little of what is going on in the outside world.

A large proportion of the people (except those in White City) have a goodly portion of Indian blood in their veins. It is accepted as a matter of course. Children have been known to taunt each other on the playgrounds with the fact that an unlucky one or two did *not* have Indian blood. One of Big Lick's leading citizens is Mr. Yerkes whose first wife was a full-blood Choctaw Indian. The Yerkes' home, located on the edge of town, is well known for its hospitality, and it is to Mr. Yerkes, well-to-do farmer and chief stockholder in Big Lick's only bank, that the occasional vagrants go for help in time of need.

Means of Transportation. The local railway, known as the "Arkansas, Oklahoma and Western," conjures up a picture which is by no means as grandiloquent as its name. Its tracks extend neither to Arkansas nor to the West, while that part of it which is in Oklahoma, and so far, the only part, covers a distance of a bare twenty miles. The constantly elusive hope of the inhabitants is that some day the mirage of the name will prove a reality, but at present approximately half of the road is a log-train route leading nowhere but to the pine woods. But the railroad, none the less, is, next to the lumber company, the most important element in the community. In the first place there is no other means of travel to ad-

jacent towns except a more or less uncertain bus line which in winter is not to be depended upon. It is the A. O. & W. old-fashioned cars which carry the traveler to the next town of Excelsior (named Berlin prior to the war), also a lumber town, the headquarters of a rival company. From Excelsior one can get a branch train of the Frisco Railway with connections to the main line at Rockport, a metropolis of eight or nine thousand which dominates that part of the country by reason of the fact that it is a junction point for three railroads. Going east from Big Lick is a more difficult matter. The traveler must journey by bus to the county seat, from which point rail connections can be secured to the east. This bus, it should be stated, runs only in good weather and the fare is expensive. Recently bus lines have been established in competition with the A. O. & W. to Excelsior and other neighboring towns and with the improvement of the roads is becoming a more popular means of travel.

But the railroad, notwithstanding this encroachment on its business, still remains one of the most important factors in the town. Upon its transportation facilities, however poor they may be, depends the success of the lumber industry and the business enterprises of the people. The arrival of the evening train with the daily mail is a social event that relieves the monotony of the day's drab existence. The majority of the townspeople are at the station to welcome its coming, although the arrival of a stranger on it is the rarest of noteworthy events. The mail is "put up" at the town post office within the next hour, and thither the crowd moves, to wait more or less impatiently with the gossip of the day to beguile the time.

The Divided Town. But most significant of all, perhaps, is the fact that the railroad marks the social and

economic dividing line in Big Lick. Running directly through the center of the village, it sharply divides that part of Big Lick which is controlled by the Lumber Company from "the town," as it is called. On the land surrounding the mill the lumber company has built neat frame cottages, painted white, of four or five rooms each, which are rented to the mill employees. This part of town is known as "White City," and is sacred to the employees of the Lerch Lumber Company. The fact that White City boasts of being pure "Arkansas stock" while the rest of Big Lick is a mixture of people from various places including the floating element from the near-by hills causes the line between them to be so sharply drawn. The townspeople emphasize this difference by poking inordinate fun at the lovers of Arkansas. One irreverent wit in the early days (as early days go in a town not yet thirteen years old!) nicknamed Arkansas, "The Holy Land," by which name it is still known. In the common parlance "going to Jerusalem" means taking the uncomfortable bus line for Pine Fork. The mill superintendent, who is the leading citizen not only of White City but of the whole town, dwells in a somewhat more pretentious house also painted white, located near the center of the several residence streets of the mill section. The residence portion of "the town" side of the railroad, occupied by the shopkeepers and their families, and the floating mill population, consist mostly of unpainted frame houses, of one, two, or three rooms. This part of the town looks with some envy on White City, for the lumber company keeps its houses in neat repair, operates its own lighting system (the rest of Big Lick is without electric lights), furnishes electricity free to its employees and takes pride in having the mill section present an attractive appearance.

The lumber company has its own water supply, which through some arrangement, is shared by the rest of Big Lick. In White City, there are generally neat cement or brick walks, but "the town" contents itself, even on Main Street, for the most part with board walks through which in rainy weather the mud oozes. Neither section of town has paved streets.

The park adjacent to the mill in White City presents rather a pathetic, forlorn appearance, with its one teeter board, and two swings for the children and a solitary bench for the adults. Each year the question of playground equipment is agitated among the more enterprising White City parents, but sheer inertia, or perhaps continued dependence on the mill for whatever is needed, prevents the purchase of equipment. In a region in which the trees are magnificent in their profusion and variety, the stretch of ground set aside for a park is, for some reason, practically bare of trees. The idea may have been to seek out the one level, unshaded spot in town,—perhaps with a view to the playing of baseball and like games,—but the result has been that the park, by courtesy so-called, is little used, while for picnics of one sort or another everybody resorts to the very beautiful near-by woods. On "the town" side of the railroad there is no park or playground.

A hospital is maintained by the Lerch Lumber Company primarily for its employees but is open also to the townspeople in general. It was established immediately after the town was chartered, in a neat, two story, white frame house in White City. A "company" doctor and two nurses are in attendance, and the service and general quality of treatment are excellent. A small amount is deducted from the pay of each man every week which entitles him to medical and hospital treatment when

necessary. The company doctor attends only to the ills of the mill employees but there are now two other physicians in Big Lick, with offices on "the town" side of the railroad in the Post Office building.

As if to emphasize the distinction in the two divisions of this small social world, White City has its own "time," which antedated the daylight saving movement in the country as a whole. For some reason, for which no one can give a convincing answer, the mill finds it to its advantage to operate on a schedule which varies from one-half to three-quarters of an hour (according to the period of the year) from ordinary standard time. White City, therefore, transacts its business on "mill time"; the rest of Big Lick contents itself with more or less plebeian "railroad time"! The advantages of White City in this case are somewhat dubious, inasmuch as the mill whistle, which regulates the clocks of those under the benevolent patronage of the Lerch Lumber Company, blows at somewhat irregular intervals. Its irregularity must be inconvenient to those who wish to take the logtrain away from Big Lick, or attend meetings on the other side of town. The mill, however, refuses to adopt standard time, and thus tends to emphasize still further the lack of coöperation characteristic of the entire community.

There is one paper, a weekly, which is locally known as the "gossip sheet." Its value to the town, cultural or otherwise, is extremely little. All those able to read get out-of-town papers, chiefly from Little Rock and Dallas. In this town located in the extreme southeastern portion of Oklahoma, the people hardly feel themselves a part of the state; their allegiance is usually given to Texas, Missouri, or Arkansas.

Religious Life. To the surprise of the outsider, the religious life of Big Lick is carried on altogether apart

from White City. In this one phase of community activity the lumber company has not dominated the situation and as a result the six churches have been built on "the town" side of the railroad.

In order of importance measured by church membership, they are the Methodist Episcopal South, Baptist, Presbyterian, two very small groups called the Christian, one of which is known as "Loyal Progressives" and finally the Nazarene, familiarly known as "The Holy Rollers." The last three possess no buildings of their own. The superintendent of the mill attends the Methodist Church, and, as a matter of course, the majority of the residents of White City follow him. The Baptists stand next in order, and as if to mark further the lines of demarcation, the major portion of Big Lick which does not live in White City ally themselves with this church. The Presbyterians muster a small congregation who hold more or less regular meetings but seldom have a minister of their own. The two Christian groups are the result of a "split" over disputed doctrines, and since neither one is strong enough to support a minister or have a building of its own, they do not exert much influence. To the Nazarenes belong, for the most part, the mountain people, and in general that part of the population which is continually shifting. They hold wildly emotional meetings, fraught with ecstatic religious frenzy, irregularly, or, as they would say, "when the spirit moves them." They meet in the front, usually the sole, room of a devotee.

The occasional newcomers, who are undecided as to the advantages of a Methodist, Baptist, or Presbyterian haven, usually go first to one and then to another of the churches, enjoying the attention they receive as prospective members, until they grow tired of being "on the outside" and join one or the other of the three. To over-

come the frequent "backslidings," revivals are held semi-annually by all the churches. These evangelistic meetings are welcomed by the people as a relief from the monotony of small town life and interest in them is heightened by the strong rivalry of the churches in their efforts to win the most converts.

There is no thought of coöperation between the churches. Indeed, the spirit of rivalry sometimes develops into antagonism during the vigorous campaigns for membership in connection with the revivals. So far the Methodists have come out triumphantly ahead, but the other groups still hope some day to equal their record. The pastors drift to this out of the way place, for the most part because they have not been able to get better congregations. No special provision is made for the young people in any of these churches, and as a consequence they come under protest to hear the very orthodox "hell and brimstone" sermons. Or else the young people attend church because there is no other place to go on Sunday.

Social Attitudes. Big Lick, curiously unlike most frontier towns, is puritanical possibly because the majority of its inhabitants are from an older state and moved here a compact community, hidebound in their prejudices. A curious instance of this backwoods Puritanism manifests itself in a medieval Book of Rules provided every teacher on her arrival, by the secretary of the School Board. These rules are to be read aloud "at least once a month," as is stated in the preamble. Teachers are forbidden by this curious collection of prohibitions, to bring any but school texts with them to their work; they are forbidden to do embroidery during the noon or mid-day recess; they may not dance; they may not play cards; but most famous of all is "Article II, Section IV,"

as it is commonly spoken of by the teachers. This rule forbids any teacher from having social engagements of any kind between Monday and Friday of the school week, and on no one of these nights may any teacher be on the public streets after the hour of seven o'clock. Of course the pupils may roam at will and make merry in the ways they are able at any hour of the day or night, but their teachers must limit their coming and going at the behest of the School Board. This rule is a particularly invidious one, for it prevents the teachers from going to town to get their evening mail, which arrives on the slow log-train between seven and eight at night. Arbitrary and old-fashioned though these regulations may appear, the twenty teachers ordinarily obey them, for infractions, particularly of the rule last mentioned, are punished with instant dismissal, as provided for in the iron-bound contract every teacher is required to sign. This strict guardianship over the morals of the people is seen also in their enforcement of Sunday blue laws. The two picture shows, one of which is housed in a fairly up-to-date one story brick building, the other a ramshackly primitive affair, more or less given over to the rougher element, are rigidly closed on Sundays. Even the drug stores, as possible places of contamination, are not allowed to open on that day except in a case of the direst necessity.

A curious quirk in the town's makeup caused a wave of hysteria to sweep over the place during the war, when in every stranger was seen a German spy with designs on the mill. Wild stories spread through Big Lick and excitement ran high. Why the Germans would be interested in an obscure lumber mill in an all-but-forgotten corner of the world no one inquired. The feeling was there, ready to be kindled into flame on slight provocation. The mill was closed to visitors, all suspicious looking

strangers were arrested on sight, and the one Jewish teacher was haled before the school board and charged with being a German spy, the charge seemingly based on the fact that her name was of German origin, and luckily or unluckily for her, she was dismissed forthwith.

The School Situation. There are two grade schools in Big Lick, one in White City supported by the lumber mill and attended by the mill children and the other located on "the town" side of the railroad. The White City people feel sure that their school employs the best teachers and they look down with supercilious scorn on those who must cast their lot with the town-supported school. The high school located in "the town" graduated its first class in 1924. The whole school system is poor. On account of the few advantages in Big Lick, coupled with the comparatively low salary paid, it has been impossible to secure a capable superintendent. None of them has been far-seeing enough to utilize the schools as a means of developing more cordial relations between the two divisions in the town. There have been no community functions centering in the schools, beyond an occasional classroom picnic or party. No Parent-Teachers Association has been organized. No Catholic teachers are employed, though curiously enough one Jewish teacher was employed during a period of scarcity, with the express understanding that she was to take special pains not to emphasize her racial point of view in teaching history and physiology to the fifth grade. During her year there the janitor, who was also a member of the school board, used to appear several times each month to quiz her on her attitude toward the church, and she was approached by other members of the board who urged upon her the necessity of disarming suspicion by teaching in one or the other of the Methodist, Baptist, or Presbyterian Sunday Schools.

Business Development. The business section, consisting of several general stores, a hardware store or two, and the corner drug stores presents a very unattractive appearance. Ordinarily the main street, which in winter is heavy with sticky mud, lies placid and quiet. Business is not too brisk to forbid quiet gossip between rival proprietors on a sunny afternoon. Every one who can possibly do so does his main shopping elsewhere. Mail-order houses do a flourishing business. The housewives visit Rockport several times a year, and most of the White City folk make a pilgrimage over the bad roads eastward to Arkansas towns for their larger purchases. Fresh meat and vegetables are brought in from the neighboring country farms two or three times a week, and the housewives gather around the wagons to buy the fresh-killed beef or mutton. All the town waits for Saturday, the gala day, when not only do the people disport themselves on the streets, but most important of all, the Indians from the neighboring reservation come in to trade, very picturesque in their flashing blankets and bright shirts. Each proprietor is out to sell as much of his merchandise to them as possible, at the very highest prices. They are looked on as legitimate prey, and merchants sometimes mark up their goods especially for their Indian customers.

Civic Organizations. Out of this strongly divided town have come several abortive attempts at organization. A Chamber of Commerce, and several civic clubs have been started, but none of them has flourished. The business and professional groups are too small to build up strong civic organizations especially when the mill officials hold aloof. The latter are tied up with the destinies of the mill; in it is not only their livelihood but to it they must give their loyalty. They know, too, that sooner or later, the mill will move on, and they with it, to fresh ter-

ritory. It may be that the period of their stay will be thirty years, as it was in Pine Fork; it may be ten,—but where the mill goes the major part of the present population of Big Lick will follow. Big Lick, then, to them, is never really a town in which to take pride; it is only a place where for the present the Lerch Lumber Company has a mill.

Because of the small size of the town there is little formal organization to deal with social problems. The mill employees when in need of assistance are taken care of by the welfare worker employed by the lumber company, and the management exercises some sort of supervision over the floating population which works for the mill a part of every year. Whatever service is given those not connected with the mill, must be done through appeals to the churches or to private individuals. Mr. Yerkes, for instance, has the reputation of being the town's most generous as well as its richest man. One public-spirited teacher started from her own small store of books a "public library" and from this has grown a "loan library," the funds being used to buy new books. Eventually it is hoped the School Board or the town authorities will help the library grow by contributing to its upkeep.

Outlook for the Future. Big Lick presents an unusually interesting problem because its future hangs in the balance. At present it is wholly dominated by and dependent on the activities of the lumber company. But the uncut lands near Big Lick will keep the lumber company there perhaps another ten or twelve years, hardly longer. During the years since the War the company has been clearing its "cut-over" lands, building neat frame houses along the railroad extension towards the east and the "real estate" business is being advertised through the town paper as "property investments accumulated on

easy payments." These "cut-over" lands prove to be rich agricultural territory and are being developed rapidly. On them the future of Big Lick depends, and there is a possibility that the town will become a well-established farm trade center by the time the mill moves on to new territory. A great deal depends on the future development of the railroad, for without adequate means of transportation, the town cannot look forward to any successful future.

But even though the town solves its economic problem, its heritage of disunity will be hard to overcome. White City is too strong and self-centered; the sheer weight of its indifference to the wider interests of the town paralyzes any civic movements which start on the other side of the railroad. The town for the time being is at an impasse. Coöperative movements can get no foothold as long as the present condition of affairs exists. Divided against itself there cannot be developed a sufficient feeling of unity to bind the people together. Perhaps little can be done to improve the existing situation until new and influential groups of people have come in to take the place of those responsible for present attitudes and traditions.

CHAPTER XI

STUART-HARMON: SOCIAL DISTANCE IN TWIN TOWNS

Introductory Note. American towns in general have been located in a haphazard way with little reference to their relation to other towns in the same region or to the particular nature or needs of the territory immediately surrounding them. In some sections of the country this has resulted in an oversupply of towns, many of which cannot look forward to any satisfactory growth, or development. There can easily be found hundreds of such towns whose future has become even more precarious with the development of more rapid means of transportation. During the pioneer days of settlement there may have been some justification for their existence, but with the coming of railways, improved highways, and automobiles, they play a declining rôle in the territory they were designed to serve.

Especially unfortunate in its location is the town which either through accident or design finds itself immediately adjacent to a rival town which is separately incorporated. In such a situation business interests suffer for the available trade must be divided between two rival business sections. Moreover, when the people in each town differ in race or nationality or social or economic status, as is frequently the case, divergent attitudes develop which foster misunderstanding and make coöperation impracticable. While it is true that if the two towns were incorporated as a single municipality, the same class

divisions would remain, yet a unified town government would at least insure coöperation in public utilities and schools as well as prevent the growth of rival business districts on the main street of each town.

Stuart-Harmon, the twin towns described in this chapter, are representative of similarly situated small communities where one town is compelled to play a subordinate rôle to the other. Stuart, longer established and possessing prestige as the county seat, far outclasses Harmon, the railroad junction, with its inferior buildings and less cultured people. This difference in social status prevents normal association between the people of each town and creates unfriendly feelings which drives the people still further apart. Separated by no discernible boundary, either natural or artificial, each town has its own government, post office, railroad station, water system, retail stores, and churches. Through this duplication of institutions each town is impoverished and the people receive an inadequate return for the money spent in their support.

Without doubt this inefficiency in social organization must largely be traced to faults in the community structure. A great deal of time and effort are sometimes wasted in trying to overcome by improved methods of organization evils that are inherent in the structure of the community itself. This case study of Stuart-Harmon indicates quite clearly the necessity of more expert attention to the location and planning of towns as a fundamental first step in making community organization effective.

It should not be thought, however, that all the shortcomings of these two towns arose from their disunity and double organization. The dark picture that is painted showing the lack of wholesome recreation, the breakdown of traditional methods of social control, and the monot-

onous, aimless life of the young people, is true of many small towns more fortunately located. Nevertheless, the deficiencies characteristic of Stuart-Harmon were enhanced by their peculiar situation and present a problem which has thus far defied all attempts at solution.

General Setting. Located in the "flat lands," the coastal plains of the South Atlantic, Stuart-Harmon is the center of the small but productive agricultural region in southern Georgia. The major commercial crops are cotton, corn and turpentine and its derivatives from the pine woods. Sweet potatoes, watermelons, cantaloupes, peaches, dewberries, peppers, and strawberries are grown, and only await the development of a coöperative marketing system to become profitable. Sugar cane is also an important crop and the cane grinding and making of syrup is a popular folk festival eagerly looked forward to by the country people. A few progressive farmers have found poultry raising on model chicken farms to be very profitable. The Stuart Board of Trade and the local Farm Bureau are attempting to introduce tobacco raising, and some slight beginnings have been made.

The majority of agricultural operations, here as throughout Georgia, are carried on under the tenant system. The terms "good farmer" and "good nigger" mean docile, hard working tenant. As a matter of fact, many of the tenants are shiftless, complain of having hard luck, fail to pay out, and almost every winter move to another farm in the vain hope of gaining a better living.

Rise of Stuart-Harmon. Of this region Stuart-Harmon is the cultural and economic capital. Stuart is an old settlement, of Scotch Presbyterian origin with a population of about 2,000. In 1874 it was incorporated and named for the pioneer Stuart family whose descendants still dominate the town. Colonel Alex Stuart, formerly a

State Senator, now holds the position of mayor. Another scion of this old family is the leading physician; still another is president of the Citizens Bank. Economically the majority of the people of Stuart are well situated. In general their living is gained as retired farmers, farm owners, turpentine men, professional men, county officials and merchants and employees of the thirty mercantile establishments. It is in Stuart, older, larger, and more assured of its social position, that the landlords live to whom the tenants must repair for directions and supplies.

The town has its fair share of graduates of the State University, Georgia Institute of Technology, and the various denominational colleges. If one happens to go into Watson's department store he may be waited on by a young man wearing a Phi Beta Kappa key. Cultured, courteous, conservative, and proud of their old traditions the "best people" of Stuart may be regarded as typical of "The Old South." Because of their intolerance of new ideas, new ways, and new people, they have not until recent years encouraged the coming in of outsiders. Many of the old residents have refused to sell desirable building lots, a fact which has hampered the growth of the town.

This conservative attitude of the people together with their exaggerated feeling of importance was largely responsible for the establishment of the town of Harmon. When the Great Eastern Railway desired to extend its main line through Stuart some of the property owners in the town declined to sell the right of way at a reasonable price. Confident that the railway would eventually be built through Stuart, its leading citizens did not take seriously the conflict over the purchase of the right of way. From the point of view of the more conservative, the coming of a new railroad was not a matter to get excited over, since the town was already on the main line

of the Southern Railroad. When finally the Great Eastern officials broke off negotiations with the profiteering landowners and announced that a right of way had been secured a mile west of Stuart, the town people began to realize the mistake they had made. At the junction of the two railroads there was established a rival town named Harmon which because of its superior transportation facilities grew rapidly until it had a population of about 1,200, and became a shipping center of local importance.

Social and Economic Contrasts. Since Harmon is primarily a railroad town, most of its citizens earn their living as railroad employees. Sitting over a midnight cup of coffee in Harmon's all night restaurant, one may see engineers, firemen and brakemen bolt a last bite before they pull out for Atlanta or Savannah. Among the few local industries in the town where employment may be secured are the town's ice plant, the turpentine still, and the two sawmills. No professional men and very few people of means and retired farmers live in Harmon. When a successful farmer wishes to move to town, he prefers to reside in Stuart where his children can have better surroundings.

While the people of Stuart realize that they are to blame for the establishment of Harmon they have never become quite reconciled to its existence. They look upon the town as an unwelcome rival and give expression of their resentment by building up social barriers between the two towns. From their point of view the people in Harmon simply "do not belong." Economic contacts are many, but intimacies are few. Harmon has had an inferior status thrust upon it which is resented but not denied. No one would suggest that this amounts to complete segregation, yet the social relationships and oppor-

tunities of Harmon people are very much restricted.

If Harmon is industrial, Stuart likes to think of itself as the business center. But Stuart's thirty stores are more than the surrounding region can really support. Prices are high, stocks lack variety, and many merchants eke out a hand-to-mouth existence. "Fire sales," "removal sales," "bankrupt sales," "going out of business sales," are too common to attract attention. The only time when business flourishes is on Saturdays during the autumn months when the tenants haul their cotton to town and pay their bills. At such times the streets of Stuart are crowded with gaunt farmers, anxious women with weary children, and strolling groups of Negroes. To the casual observer it seems as if these people were laying in a year's supply of shoes and clothes, flour and side meat. It is too often true that anything they need later will have to be advanced by their landlord or "bought on time."

Harmon, on the other hand, has no crowds of Saturday customers to make up for the monotony and poor business of the week. With the exception of the drug store, the all night restaurant, and the two garages, the establishments in Harmon look musty and forlorn. They exist to serve only the people of Harmon, and many of their expected customers go to Stuart. On Saturdays in Harmon, the shopkeepers standing in the doors of the four stores, give one the impression that they too would like to move to Stuart. Their struggle to make a living has especially been discouraging since the failure of Harmon's bank a year ago. This cast a pall of discouragement over the town from which it cannot easily recover. While Stuart has thus far escaped a similar catastrophe, business has recently been at a low ebb and the people are constantly talking of hard times.

Duplication and Competition. The chief difficulty

of course, is the folly of attempting to support rival business districts in the twin towns. Stuart-Harmon suffers a high per cent of business failures and pays higher prices for groceries and clothing because of its over supply of stores. Many people realize this fact, but civic pride if nothing else makes impracticable any merging of business interests.

In the field of public utilities there is a similar division of effort with its resulting inefficiency. Stuart and Harmon each has a volunteer fire company, and neither has been successful in putting out any fires that have gained headway. The separate water systems cannot maintain sufficient pressure for effective fire prevention. The rate of fire loss in Stuart-Harmon is high, and fire insurance premiums are almost prohibitive. The Harmon town government leases its electric current from the Stuart lighting plant, and the Harmon people pay a higher rate than is required of the citizens of Stuart. No less do the churches of the town suffer from this division. Each community supports a Methodist and a Baptist church, while Stuart has in addition, an abandoned Episcopal church and a Presbyterian church which meets occasionally with a young pastor who comes from Savannah. The Stuart Methodists worship in an old barn. The two ministers in Harmon preach twice monthly to small and struggling congregations that rarely succeed in paying their ministers' salaries in full. Occasionally when some one dares to criticize the churches or the town governments for not being more coöperative he is regarded as indulging in mild sarcasm and no further attention is given to it.

The young people of the two towns know each other fairly well but mingle rarely. Occasionally one of the prettier or "better class" Harmon girls attends a Stuart party in spite of the social distinctions that are usually

enforced. Formerly any Stuart boy who went to see a Harmon girl was likely to be attacked by a fusillade of rocks and compelled to scurry home. The reason for this was simple: With what good purpose did a Stuart boy visit a Harmon girl? It was as if West End should keep company with East Side. While the feeling of distrust is gradually declining, the association of the young people of both towns is still looked upon with great disfavor.

Schools: A Coöperative Enterprise That Does Not Unite. Education is apparently the one interest that tends to unite the twin towns, and to the school the young people owe what solidarity they have attained. That the Stuart-Harmon public school is a coöperative enterprise is an historical accident which cannot be explained without briefly reviewing the history of Slidell College. Almost thirty years ago, in a day when public high schools were little known in Georgia, a Methodist Academy was founded at Stuart for the Christian education of boys and girls. By means of gifts and tuition it struggled along as a local boarding school. At first its curriculum included the primary grades. It had a good high school department for that day, and many students came to it since it was the only academy in the country around. With the growth of public education the two towns organized the Stuart-Harmon public school district, rented a building from the Academy, and took over the first seven grades. The Academy retained the high school, added two years of college and adopted the official title: "Slidell College, a Methodist Junior College for Boys and Girls."

The administration of this college which serves the two towns as a high school, presents some difficult problems. As a private institution it is under the control of the college board of trustees appointed by the South Georgia Methodist Conference. This board selects the President,

passes upon the teachers, and determines the policies of the institution. A large share of its appropriations, however, comes from both county and town boards of education and, theoretically, at least is subject to the control of these public school authorities. It is doubtful if the situation is legal, but no one has ever cared to carry the case into court, for the towns want neither to lose the college nor to be forced to issue bonds for the erection of a high school building. Those who do not belong to the Methodist Church dislike to see the high school dominated by the Methodists. The administration usually tries to avoid this criticism by employing at least two teachers who are active members of other denominations. But with all the concessions the Methodists are willing to make it still bears the earmarks of a denominational school, and as such is a constant source of dissatisfaction to many of the residents of Stuart-Harmon.

As might be expected, this effort to build up a coöperative school system of this nature did not prevent clashes between the children of each town. Formerly, Stuart-Harmon gangs had a mutual agreement to hang around the school grounds after four o'clock in order to fight. The boys no longer fight, but the girls from each town go around in little cliques. In the high school a group of hard-working students from Harmon seem conscious of inferiority and spend an excessive amount of time in study. The Stuart girls refer slightingly to the "Strawberry Blonds" who are said to peroxide their hair. Something, no doubt, is lacking in the taste in which some of them dress, and their manners likewise give little evidence of refinement. On the other hand, there are Harmon students who say that several of the Stuart girls think they are in society and are too good to speak to anybody. In the senior classes, however, this factional spirit seems

much less noticeable. The parties, picnics and other social occasions which they attend create a feeling of comradeship. By the time commencement arrives, the class seems bound together by a haze of sentiment which temporarily at least drives into the background the social distinctions that separate the people of the two towns.

Social Classes Within Stuart. Social distance divides Harmon and Stuart, but it also operates in Stuart itself. Calloway Street is the select residential district. Here stand the beautiful homes of the Stuarts, the lawyers, the doctors, the retired farmers who own turpentine lands, and the leading merchants. It is the women of Calloway Street who run the civic and patriotic clubs just as their menfolk run the town. Membership in the Stuart Improvement Club, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy is limited to the élite who guard jealously their rights as leaders in civic and social affairs.

In a less desirable section of Stuart is the middle class residential district locally known as "Shintown." The people who live here have modest incomes and reside in bungalows attractive enough in appearance but far outclassed by the stately mansions on Calloway Street. In their social life, the women of "Shintown" have nothing in common with those in the higher social circle. The Parent-Teachers Association, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the American Legion Auxiliary furnish an outlet for their social and civic interests. In the work of these more plebeian organizations the women of Calloway Street maintain a friendly interest, but make it quite clear that they are too busy to attend any of their meetings.

Lowest in the social scale are the people who live in the rows of ill-kept houses located in the outskirts of the busi-

ness section. Some of these are cheap boarding houses and several have a rather unsavory reputation about which wild stories circulate from time to time.

Across the railroad lies the segregated quarter known as "nigger town." White women from the best families drive over there occasionally to take their laundry or look for a cook, but they never seem to notice the tumble down shacks or become concerned about the squalor amid which the Negroes live. A Methodist and a Baptist church and the "Twin City Seminary" provide for their religious and educational needs. This Negro school boasts a domestic science department which is a great source of satisfaction to the white people of Stuart because it insures for them a supply of well-trained cooks. Everybody will tell you, "We have a good bunch of Negroes: they give us no trouble for they know their place and keep it."

The Young People and the Breakdown of Social Control. It is in the social relations of the young people of Stuart-Harmon that the conflict of social attitudes and loosening of the bonds of social control are most clearly seen. There are many of the older people in the two towns who say that the young folk are going to the dogs. Anxious mothers have found cigarettes in the vanity bags of their high school daughters. Many young sons and daughters have assumed control of the family car without the parents realizing how it happened. Some of the town's best men are drinking rather heavily on the sly. The change in social attitudes is well brought out in a comment by one of the "nicest girls" in Stuart: "Six years ago, if a boy had offered me a drink of whiskey I would have been insulted; now I merely laugh and say, 'No thank you, I don't drink!' " Boys and girls go out driving until one or two in the morning and cut off the remonstrances of their parents with the reply: "Well, everybody

else does." Many students drop out in the first year of high school to go to work and are afterwards seen loafing in the streets. In the high school senior class which numbered twenty last year there were only two boys and one of them failed. Some of the older families in Stuart have decided to send their boys off to a military academy. Occasionally an adolescent boy runs away from home to the surprise and chagrin of his parents, and is captured and brought back to face the ridicule of his fellows. Once in a while a vaguely vile story goes the rounds about a Harmon girl, and later it is reported that she has been seen clerking in a ten cent store in Atlanta, Savannah or Macon.

The agencies of social control have found the mediation between the old and the new a thankless task. Some of the patrons have said that the school board should pass a rule against the school children going downtown at night, and that the teachers should enforce it. Several years ago the Ku Klux Klan, then rather popular, secured a passage of a curfew ordinance which was enforced for two months. Four revivals are held each year in the two towns, and the changes are rung on the refrain: "The young people are going to hell." Dancing, petting and car riding come in for their share of attention. It is proved to the satisfaction of the pulpit if not the choir, that one who plays bridge is in the same category with a "crap shootin' buck nigger." Some have begun to wonder if the revivals really do much good. Nevertheless the evangelists come back each year and they always carry off a liberal collection even though the salary of the local ministers may remain unpaid.

Dullness Versus Viciousness in Recreation. In this conflict of social attitudes between the new and the old the complaint is frequently heard that the young people

do not work as did those of a former generation. Certain it is that they have a great deal of leisure for which the community has provided nothing in the way of organized recreation. There are no Boy Scout or Camp Fire Girl organizations nor boys' and girls' clubs of any kind in Stuart-Harmon. Organized play exists only in the public school calesthenics and football and baseball at the college. The young people do little reading outside their class room work, for the twin towns have no public library, and the shelves of the college library (which are not open to the public) have been filled with dusty tomes on divinity, the gifts of benevolently disposed ministers. The few plays and other programs given during the year for the purpose of raising money for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the American Legion are held at the college auditorium. Usually these plays are put on by traveling directors who furnish the costumes, and get a percentage of the receipts. As a matter of custom, the same boys and girls from Calloway Street are cast in all these plays. During the performance the town "bad boys" sit out in the dark in cars, smoking and talking in boisterous tones. Around Christmas they are likely to amuse themselves by exploding firecrackers under the windows. Since there are no music, drama, or literary clubs, these plays constitute the young people's chief means of developing their esthetic and cultural interests.

Two centers of conflict of social attitudes are found in the dance and the cheap carnival. With the aid of the community the American Legion has built a club house in which dances are sometimes held by the younger married people and their friends. Often a dance is followed by a sermon against dancing by one of the local pastors after which the young people may suspend the pastime for several weeks as a matter of prudence. Several times the

more strait-laced Legion members have been outraged to find some of the high school pupils holding an impromptu afternoon dance in the club house without permission. In the spring and summer no carnival for miles around fails to come to Stuart-Harmon. Side shows and amusement devices draw good crowds, but the perennial gambling booths appeal most to the town boys and the callow youths from the farm. The carnivals are usually sponsored by the American Legion which gets a percentage of the receipts after the city license fee has been paid.

Loafing and Social Disorganization. No discussion of the recreation of the young folk of Stuart-Harmon would be complete without a mention of loafing. From early afternoon until closing time at eleven or twelve at night, small groups of young people can be seen idling away their time in and about the garages, restaurants, and drug stores, for loafing is a popular means of recreation with well-established hangouts. Gangs of boys, gossiping and playing pranks on each other, have the garages and all-night restaurants practically to themselves. In the four drug stores the phonographs blare forth their jazz from afternoon until closing time. Young boys gather around the counter, matching for drinks and joking with the soda fountain clerk, while the giggling girls sit around the tables in intimate conversation. When a boy bends over the group and speaks in a low tone after a hasty glance around, one may be sure that he is telling a sex joke left by the last commercial traveler. More or less subtle wordplay upon the theme of sex is indulged in by all groups from the Shriners to the fourth grade boys. It is true that in the shops the barbers now cast a glance around the room before asking "Have you heard this one?" and the "Police Gazettes" have disappeared from view, but girls awaiting their turn for a

hair cut seem hardly at ease. One observes that they sit rather primly, get their necks shaved as quickly as possible and hurry out.

It is in this failure to provide wholesome social activities that the social disorganization of Stuart-Harmon is most apparent. People deplore the fact that their children spend so much time on the streets, but no one has advanced the idea of a community playground or attempted to organize girls' and boys' clubs of a wholesome kind. The ministers continue to talk about a religious revival and the older settlers bemoan the good old times, but nobody seems to know just what to do about it. In the meantime the parents hope that John will finally settle down and May will quit gadding about town. The school seems powerless to deal with the problem for its classes are already crowded and the overburdened teachers can give no special attention to those who fail in their studies. Occasionally a young clerk, recently married, tells a high school teacher how he missed his chance at education because of his unwillingness to attend school. The teacher nods sympathetically and puts the matter out of his mind. It has been a generation since a man from Stuart-Harmon has gained success in Atlanta, Macon, or Savannah. The boys usually marry and settle down at the home of their parents or their wife's parents until they can afford to build. Some of the girls who graduate from high school teach in the country, but they look forward to marriage rather than to teaching as a profession.

Lack of Social Service Agencies. Stuart-Harmon like most small towns makes no adequate attempts to deal with dependents and delinquents. There is no professional social work. When a family reaches the starvation level, some friend carries a subscription list around to all

the merchants, who put down small sums because "everybody else is helping." Tender-hearted housewives continue to feed tramps at the back door provided they do not become too numerous. An occasional vagrant or suspicious character is put in the town lock-up, but usually, if molested at all, such persons are given a few hours to get out of town.

Recent Effort at Boosting. During the past year and a half, Stuart, like many other American towns, has become dominated by the booster spirit, and led by the Board of Trade, has sought to gain prosperity by increasing its population. Situated on the Southern Railway and on a state highway leading from Atlanta to Jacksonville, the people of Stuart have watched for a number of years the automobile tourists and the Pullmans of the Royal Palm passing through the town. But none of the tourists ever settled, and then the roads were so poor that the cars began to use another route. Faced by this situation, the Board of Trade entered upon an extensive program designed to improve conditions. The private ferry on the Coropeake River, which during high water was always out of commission, was replaced by a bridge that was opened by the governor last May with appropriate ceremonies. A good roads campaign was inaugurated which resulted in Stuart voting a bond issue that made possible eight blocks of paved streets, a white way, and side-walks in a hitherto unpaved residential district. Finally after a long struggle against the efforts of the embattled farmers, a county bond issue of $325,000 was voted to match state and Federal funds for paving the two highways the length of the county. The banks and the Board of Trade have called in experts from the State College of Agriculture to explain the advantages of diversified farm-

ing. Poultry raising is being encouraged, and a carload of registered Jersey bulls from Virginia were auctioned off to the farmers.

Nor has the Board of Trade neglected to advertise in the effort to attract new residents to the town. Editorials have appeared deprecating the prejudice against Yankees and "foreigners." It is pointed out that lynchings (from which McKee County is singularly free) create a prejudice against a community. The section has been written up in an attractive manner in the "Atlanta Journal" by a special correspondent who put most of his emphasis on the history and the future of the community. An eighteen page McKee County Photogravure Section in a 1926 issue of "Georgia, A Magazine Devoted to the Development of a Greater Georgia" was paid for by the Stuart Board of Trade. In its folders, the section is "sloganized" as the "Paradise of Real Agriculturists" and Stuart as the "City, Wholesome and Substantial." The publicity pamphlet concludes with the statement: "The people are satisfied and happy and work in perfect harmony to make their county and towns better places in which to live. We have no divisions among our people and both white and black work for their own advancement along the same lines." On the strength of these and similar statements the McKee-Sterling Land Company has been organized for the purpose of selling developed farms to newcomers.

In the meantime tourists have come back from Florida, and have stopped in McKee County only for gas. Every day, it is said, the Board of Trade gets inquiries from up North and mails back its folders. The newcomers have not yet arrived, but the people still look hopefully toward the future. At any rate they do have the sidewalks, the pavements, and the white way, which were needed so long.

But the conflict of social attitudes and the results of cultural isolation still remain.

Stuart As It Is To-day. This effort on the part of the Board of Trade to boost Stuart did not result in better relations between the two towns. Harmon gave no help in getting out the publicity and is mentioned only once in the Photogravure Section. Stuart still conscious of its superiority continues to ignore its neighboring rival as it has in the past. The old traditions and attitudes of the people persist in spite of the effort to make Stuart a more progressive town. The boys still drop out of school to loaf on the streets. The president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union repeats her lectures to the boys and girls on "purity" and "cigarettes" whenever the school principal will give her a chapel period. The biology teacher is warned not to mention sex or evolution in class, and the statement: "My grandfather was not an ape" is good for a laugh at "those fool scientists" in any church in town. Some of the boys and girls like Zane Grey and Harold Bell Wright, but many of them care little or nothing about reading. The two Methodist churches voted overwhelmingly against unification, although the leading lawyer in town favored it. The town is still talking about the college girl who on her way to the State University to begin her second year's work, met her old sweetheart on the train, eloped with him to South Carolina, and brought him back to live with her folks. Chip Norman, minister's son and a college graduate struggling along in a blind-alley bookkeeper's job, tried to kill himself recently. All his friends knew that he was drinking secretly, and the best girls would no longer associate with him. Three boys in the town ran away from home and sent their frantic parents word that they were going to South America. A good one about the

drummer and the old maid is going the rounds of the drug stores. A tenant farmer told the crowd at the garage that if he had his way "All these niggers and damn foreigners would be deported." A lawyer drew a good laugh in the barber shop by saying, "I don't object to niggers going to heaven. I suspect my shoes will still need shining up there." In a recent Sunday sermon the minister informed his congregation that the South contained the "only pure Anglo-Saxon blood in America." Downtown, slim, giggling mulatto girls who hardly need the face powder they use, gaze, rather conscious of their beauty, into shop windows. The Dixie Carnival and Tent Show have just left town, and a new revival is to start soon at the Methodist Church. The white way and the paved streets have done little to relieve the drabness and monotony of life and the town seems to be settling back into its old lethargy with dwindling hopes of future improvement.

The Outlook in Harmon. Over in Harmon the two hotels, erected with high hopes at the junction of the two railway lines, are having a hard time remaining solvent. "Business is dead in Harmon" is a common saying, and the owners of the stores would gladly sell out if they could find a purchaser. As the town gets older its appearance is getting more unkempt and its chances of improvement become increasingly meager. To the outside observer the people of Harmon appear uncouth and lacking in appreciation of the finer things in life. Under the circumstances little else could be expected for the struggle for existence has been hard and the inferior status forced upon them by Stuart has been disheartening. In Harmon, pretty young girls grow up, go to school and marry, and within a few years child-bearing and household drudgery have wiped off the bloom; they are wrinkled, slovenly, and commonplace. The only girls who can look forward

to a different lot are those who have gone to other communities to teach and have found there a permanent home. But it is hard to get out. Mac Bowman, son of expressman Bowman of the Great Eastern Railway, won highest honors in the senior class of Slidell and planned to go to Duke University. But his father got him a job as baggageman, and the boy gave up his hope of a college education. In Harmon families need money, and children are expected to go to work as soon as they can get paying jobs.

Stuart-Harmon seem fated to continue to struggle along side by side, yet separated, one placed above, the other placed below. Competition rather than coöperation characterizes their relations with each other. Each little move of progress in one town is an occasion for jealousy in the other. The two long streets between Stuart and Harmon are filled in the evening with cars of joy-riders from Stuart. But no one would think of taking a joy ride around the Harmon shacks across the railroad. The attitudes of the people, their economic status and habits of life form a gulf between the two which cannot be easily crossed. If through some miracle of industrial expansion Stuart-Harmon should greatly increase their population they might outgrow their isolation and merge their double organization into a united municipality. But as it now is, isolation shuts out the people of Harmon, and social distance no less divides those of Stuart. Unable to live together, the twin towns are yet unable to live apart.

CHAPTER XII

LONG CREEK: NEIGHBORHOOD RIVALRY AND SCHOOL CONSOLIDATION

Introductory Note. During the pioneer period of settlement of American communities, the entire social situation was favorable for the development of local loyalties and attachment to small neighborhood institutions. As long as opportunities for wider relationships were few, progress in any community depended upon the welding together of local people in the support of their own interests. It was through these intimate social contacts that there were built up the qualities essential for coöperative undertakings and the foundation laid for effective social control.

With the passing of this pioneer period, a new social pattern developed, characterized by wider and more impersonal relationships. In the process of rapid city growth, local neighborhoods were swallowed up and lost their identity. The larger social unit thus built up could support more efficient institutions and maintain high standards that were formerly impracticable. This process of transition from the more simple neighborhood life of the past to the complex social organization of the present involves problems of disorganization difficult of solution.

In rural communities these changes are taking place just as inevitably although more slowly than in the cities. The inadequacy of the small neighborhood in the open country is becoming more fully recognized and efforts are being made to reorganize its institutions on a wider and more efficient basis. In the field of rural education

most progress perhaps has been made in the building up of larger territorial units. This school consolidation program has already proceeded far enough in many places to furnish valuable material for the student of community organization.

The story of school consolidation in Long Creek as told in this chapter brings out quite vividly the strength of local neighborhood loyalties and prejudices, which must give way before coöperative effort on a larger scale can become practicable. Among the factors that interfered with the plan to achieve a larger unity were rivalry between church groups, pride in old traditions, unwillingness to pay higher school taxes, varying social and economic levels in the several neighborhoods, personal rivalries and conflicts between prominent leaders, and the difficulty of agreeing upon a suitable location for the new school. Even after public opinion had developed to the point where it became possible to secure the needed funds and build the school, the process of unification of the different neighborhoods was far from complete. The children, reflecting the attitudes of their parents, insisted in perpetuating the old neighborhood lines in the formation of their play groups and athletic teams. The leaders who disliked the new order of things took advantage of every opportunity to destroy confidence in the new school. During the first years of its establishment, its situation remained precarious in spite of the fact that from the educational point of view it was a vast improvement over the former one- and two-teacher schools. The experience in this school consolidation program well illustrates the difficulties likely to be met in a scheme of social organization that runs counter to local traditions and involves the welding together of neighborhoods into a larger administrative unit.

Early Settlement of the Community. Long Creek Consolidated School District consists of a strip of country about six miles wide lying along the Catawba river and extending from the city limits of Charlotte, North Carolina, northward for sixteen miles. Its first settlement goes back to about 1745 when some Scotch-Irish began to arrive from Pennsylvania, coming down the long valley that formed the highway for so many peoples into the heart of Virginia and the Carolinas. Their chief settlement in what is now Long Creek District was in the rich lands along the river, and made up the central section of this long strip. From about 1750 migration increased rapidly and the Scotch-Irish were joined by Germans who came mostly from Pennsylvania also, but some from Wilmington and Charleston. Some of these immigrants settled in what is the northern part of the present district. Thirdly, a sprinkling of French Huguenots from the fever-ridden lowlands of South Carolina moved into the hilly parts of Mecklenburg county, including parts of Long Creek District. Finally, some English people from the eastern part of the state, finding the better lands near the river taken, settled in the more hilly eastern part.

The characteristics of the various communities settled by these immigrants were distinct from the beginning, and economic factors and leadership tended to accentuate the differences. The Germans of the northern area took little part in county affairs, first, because they could not speak English, and second, because they traded at Cross Creek, later Fayetteville, instead of at the new town of Charlotte. They had left Germany because of religious persecution and in the new country they cherished their right to freedom of worship. This section was then, and has remained, strongly Lutheran.

The Scotch-Irish people, the most numerous of all the groups were scattered over the rest of Long Creek District, being more concentrated in the central section south of the German community. There in the rich river bottom lands they waxed strong and wealthy. The two neighborhoods, Hopewell and Davidson, joined in 1765 in building Hopewell Presbyterian Church which was a center of civil and religious liberty. To its influence the community attributes the stand of those Mecklenburg farmers in their famous and much doubted "Declaration of Independence." Hopewell, and its sister community, Davidson, together furnished nearly all the signers. Because of the patriotic sentiment surrounding that event, they have assumed and have been allowed by the rest to assume leadership of the county, and have felt superior to all the others that have not had such a glorious past. To this political leadership was added certain social prestige by the settlement in this section, before the Revolution, of a few aristocratic and rather wealthy young Englishmen. As a local chronicler put it: "A very beneficent influence is exercised by them."

East of Hopewell and Davidson the soil was not so good and the more energetic of the early settlers gradually moved on. Through this selective process as well as the poor economic foundation, this neighborhood has failed to keep pace with the others adjacent to it. A weak Episcopal church founded some years ago and a one-teacher school are its neighborhood centers.

The remaining main division of the present district, the southern part, extending from the limits of Charlotte to Hopewell, was settled by Scotch-Irish mainly, but the land was not so good as that on the Catawba River, in Hopewell and Davidson, and it did not, for some reason, produce as able leaders. Most important, from the point

of view of Hopewell at least, it early departed from the Presbyterian fold. Here one of the earliest Methodist churches in that section of the state was built by former Presbyterians who would not accept the orthodox view of "tokens." For this reason the church and the whole community was looked down upon by Hopewell and their scorn was not diminished by the fact that Trinity's leaders were men of little education.

Preservation of Neighborhood Traits. The characteristics of all these various neighborhoods are to-day very similar to what they were one hundred and forty years ago. Of course progress has been made and changes have occurred, but through all this, each little community has clung to its history and its customs, and their churches have been strong forces in preserving this community loyalty. Hopewell and Davidson school districts were friendly because they were united at Hopewell church and there was considerable intermarrying between the communities. To them Hopewell was the one acceptable place to worship. The Methodist church started with the poorer people; "that class above all others who have need of a Saviour," is the way one Presbyterian minister expressed it a century ago, and that feeling has been preserved perfectly.

The strong denominational differences and decided feeling of social superiority does not include all of the dissimilar factors. The economic life of these districts varies. Hopewell and Davidson, on the Catawba river, were in time past, the principal slave-owning sections in the county. Slavery was never very popular in Mecklenburg, for the Scotch-Irish believed in industriously cultivating their own farms. However, the river farms of Hopewell and Davidson had as many as ten or twelve each. In this section of Mecklenburg the soil is particularly

adapted to the growth of cotton. Fertile soil plus slave labor made large, well-to-do farms. Since the Civil War the slave labor has been replaced largely by white and negro tenants. Thus large farms, cotton, many tenants and the attendant evil, poor cultivation of soil, all affect the social and economic and moral life of the two best neighborhoods in the Long Creek District. As will be shown later the tenant class plays an insignificant part in the religious and educational life, but a major part in determining certain policies when their votes are controlled by some politician.

In contrast to this the population of the eastern and central part of the consolidated district was made up of small cotton farmers. There were practically no tenants and the soil was so unproductive that it supplied only the necessities of life. The people live on a lower economic scale than the land-owners of Hopewell and Davidson but they are superior to the tenants of those regions.

In the southern part of the district a third level is found in the economic life. Here a greater specialization catering to the local food markets of Charlotte has been developed. This has made possible the reduction of tenancy, and with that cotton-farming has gone. These people are much better off from a financial standpoint than the other sections discussed. They are likewise more progressive than the cotton farmers who are growing their crops in the same way their fathers did. A thriving new Presbyterian church is found here in the section once dominated by Trinity Methodist.

Intense loyalty to neighborhood is a characteristic that must be kept in mind if one is to follow with understanding the actual steps in the recent consolidation. Hopewell and Davidson boasted leaders of the past for which they had due reverence from the other sections, and they were

perfectly convinced that though they now lack such leaders they are still due the prestige; the eastern section is poor and without tradition; and the southern is becoming richer and more progressive and is ambitious for the leadership. Such was the area to be welded into one and united in a school program.

School Background. In order to understand the rise of the consolidated school movement in Long Creek, it is necessary to know something of the low status to which the public schools in this section had fallen. While during the pioneer period of settlement, the people living in this portion of Mecklenburg county had taken great pride in providing means of education, this was not true of the latter half of the nineteenth century. By the time of the Civil War the local academies that had acquired considerable fame had gone out of existence, with the exception of the one at Hopewell. This latter was able to maintain itself until about 1880, when it finally degenerated into a small two-teacher school. In 1920 the children in the whole territory under discussion were in one- and two-teacher schools, which in general appearance closely resembled rural schools in most parts of the country. Located usually in a semi-cleared space in the woods, dingy little frame houses with the paint worn off—if indeed there was ever any on them—their open well or a pump often out of repair, their dirty toilets chalk-marked with vulgarities, their rough and stumpy pretense at a ball diamond, these schools were very unprepossessing on the outside. Their inside appearance and equipment were no better. Cross lighting, ceiled walls, unpainted, dark from smoke and the natural color of the aging wood, a stove that blistered the nearest students and froze the farthest ones, a pitifully small supply of books and maps, crude blackboards,—such were the halls of primary learning

in Long Creek as well as in many other rural sections.

The conditions surrounding these schools became gradually worse instead of better. From 1916 to 1920 teachers' salaries in the city schools greatly increased and hence the one-teacher school found it even more difficult than ever before to secure experienced teachers and retain their services over a period of years. The average stay of the teacher in the rural schools of this section became as low as two years; many schools changed teachers every year. No far-reaching plans were developed nor any rural leadership shown by such "birds of passage." The unstable conditions were further increased by the constant epidemics of influenza which were most prevalent during those years. If a teacher became ill the school was without a teacher for weeks, even if she resigned, for substitutes and new teachers were not easily secured. The six-months' term was in reality often only four months. This together with the irregular attendance of many of the pupils made retardation a serious problem in these schools.

The Occasion of Consolidation. It is doubtful if this state of affairs would have aroused public sentiment to the point of action if another equally pressing need had not arisen and merged into it. In the territory which it was proposed should be included in the Long Creek Consolidated School District, there was a population of 1,785 people, with no school prepared to offer high school work. One school attempted it but only the first two years were offered with an enrollment of eight pupils. Children who wished to continue their education beyond the elementary grades were under the necessity of being sent away to a preparatory school or of driving each day a distance of fifteen miles to the nearest high school. Either alternative was more expensive than most parents could afford.

The last necessitated the keeping of two cars, since the farmer was obliged to have some means of transportation during the day while the children were away at school. Besides, the high schools available under such a plan were not satisfactory. The high tuition fee in the Charlotte schools made attendance there impracticable, while the school at the town fifteen miles away, to which some were sending their children, was overcrowded and was not doing work of a high order. Under these circumstances, it seemed that the only solution of the problem was the building of a local high school equipped to meet the needs of their own children. Especially was this feeling strong in Hopewell and Davidson, the two neighborhoods most interested in education. Some of the older families hoped for a revival of old Hopewell Academy and the suggestion was made that a high school be located near the Hopewell Presbyterian church. It soon became evident that the Methodist part of the district, located five miles below Hopewell, would take no part in such a movement. Neither would Beach Cliff with its few old Episcopal families accept a plan which involved their submission to the leadership of Hopewell.

Though nothing definite resulted from this discussion, it started people thinking about consolidation. It opened their minds and they began to see what was being accomplished elsewhere. They saw that in other parts of the county consolidated schools had been in successful operation for a number of years. If such a thing could be accomplished by people of their own county, farmers like themselves, they naturally began to wonder if they could not solve their very pressing problem in the same way.

At this critical time the county superintendent suggested the formation of a school district that would in-

clude Davidson and Hopewell on the north, Beach Cliff on the east and Trinity below Long Creek. The interest of leaders in each neighborhood was gained and his plan seemed satisfactory to them provided the school was placed where each wanted it, in his own district!

Influence of Tradition-free Leaders. The recognition of the need for consolidation was a great advance, but there still remained the difficult problem of persuading the people of each neighborhood to bury their local prejudices and work together for the common good. At this point two Hopewell citizens rendered yeoman's service. One of these was a member of one of the few old families still enjoying prosperity. He had left Hopewell as a boy, but had returned many years later with his family. He was not bound by tradition as were the others and he considered a good school an absolute necessity. His friendship with the county superintendent made it easy for them to work together, while his position, his personality, his patience and ability made him popular with and respected by the people.

His ablest ally was a very tactful, well-educated and accomplished young woman who had married into one of the old families. She was an outsider, but by reason of her husband's social position and her musical ability she was accepted as a leader in church and social activities. She likewise was not steeped in traditional beliefs, and was well aware of the fact that all the best families were expected to vote together. Feeling keenly the need of better educational facilities for her children, she began with great care to build up local sentiment in favor of a consolidated school. The problems of transportation, the short term, the poor school, the progress other parts of the county was making, Hopewell's loss of leadership they had had so long, all these became subjects for discussion

at informal gatherings, at the church and at the crossroads store. Especially did she play upon the feelings of the mothers. Among those "best families" the girls are still put upon a sort of pedestal, and it was easy for her to point out the undesirability of their daughters making the fifteen-mile trip twice daily in the crowded school bus with all sorts of rude boys. This was done in a quiet, tactful way with accusations against none, but she left the feeling that their girls must be educated and they must be protected. She worked constantly to bring unreconciled factions together. Every man who could lay claim to a drop of the blue-blood of the old families was flattered by having a chance to do her a favor. With rare skill she unobtrusively played a game that would shame a more modern type of woman politician.

Locating and Building the School. In the Trinity and Beach Cliff sections there seemed little objection to consolidation but much to Hopewell leadership. There the county superintendent had considerable influence because the people trusted him, and through his efforts all feelings of suspicion began to disappear. When a school site about one mile from the Beach Cliff school, four from Trinity, with excellent roads to both, was offered and accepted by the County Board of Education these two schools seemed rather well satisfied. The site was also acceptable to both Hopewell and Davidson, although the new school would be located well outside the boundaries of both of these neighborhoods.

It was in February, 1921, that a very active campaign for consolidation was started publicly with a meeting in the old Long Creek store. A representative of the State Department of Education, and the county superintendent, both made addresses. Interest was most evident, and in

that same month the district voted a tax of twenty cents and ordered the election within two months. The county superintendent applied for help from the State Department, and a $25,000 loan was secured for the building. The school tax was voted by a large majority.

A problem now arose that required much diplomacy in its solution, namely, the selection of the board of trustees of the Consolidated School District. This board had to be representative of the entire district if the coöperation of the whole was to be secured. The leaders of each neighborhood were given places on the new board, while the chairman was chosen from the district which had feared the losing of its leadership to Hopewell. During the summer of 1922 this new school board, thus tactfully constituted, did a great deal toward strengthening public opinion in favor of consolidation.

The contract for the school building was let in April and the work was finished early in the autumn. As first completed, it had eight classrooms and an auditorium and was equipped with running water and steam heat. Seven teachers were employed, of whom five were to do grade work and two were to organize the new high school. It had been the most ardent, though the most secret, hope of the leaders of the movement to have a high school enrollment that demanded three full-time teachers.

When school opened the last of September, the entire seven and one-half acres of school ground seemed to be covered with school children. Within the next two weeks two more teachers were employed, one of whom was assigned to the high school because of its large enrollment. One grade had to be taught in the auditorium and two others had to occupy the same room, making shifts for classes. Even then every desk was filled. The "doubt-

ers" were surprised at the popularity of the school; the promoters were overjoyed and filled with spirit to attack problems yet unsolved.

Disorganization Among the Pupils and Patrons. The new building stood there in the center of the district but no united people were backing it in its work. On the school-grounds the children from each neighborhood played separately. Organized play meant to them sports and games with their own crowd. The boys from one school formed a basket-ball team, went to the woods and cut logs for posts, paid for their own baskets and ball and expected to have their own team! Another group of small boys had a similar team and at first refused to play if a teacher asked a boy from any other neighborhood to play with them. The girls were, if possible, even more clannish. With them, differences in social status formed the basis for their many groups and cliques. Some parents also failed to adjust themselves to the new situation. A mother from Davidson neighborhood insisted that his teacher give her boy special attention, personal help, and send her a daily report concerning his work. Not for an instant did she think her request an imposition upon that teacher. Her son was entitled to the best, for was he not a F——, a grandson of Major F——, a descendant of generations of political and military leaders? Around the graveyard at the old home a $5,000 wall protected the sacred dust of his forefathers!

It was evident that the lack of unity among the pupils was but a reflection of the attitude of their parents. The leaders in the new movement felt that if the entire district could be enlisted in one big undertaking the smaller neighborhood loyalties would diminish in importance. The common task in which the coöperation of all was

needed was the building up of a four-year high school that would be second to none in the county. Through the effort of the leaders, interest in this project was stimulated. A campaign for books, donations of books and money, a campaign for science material, entertainments at the schoolhouse for the purpose of making money, these were the factors that finally began to break down the barriers between the old neighborhoods. In all entertainments or public meetings in which school children participated precaution was taken by the teachers to see that pupils from every one of the neighborhoods were as equally represented as possible. Numerous meetings of practically every conceivable type were held that first year. The aim of every one was to get the people acquainted and to convey to them the feeling that the school was theirs. Since they were too far removed from town to go there for entertainment, they gladly attended the school programs and were gradually brought to a realization of their common interests.

Various school activities, glee club, literary societies, athletic associations, were started and care was taken that no neighborhood should dominate any one organization. The giving up of local athletic teams died a hard death and it was accomplished only through an attempt to defeat a school located in a town some twelve miles away. Uniting to beat this team, Long Creek boys gained a new feeling of sharing in a common cause. A district tournament provided games with more distant schools and resulted in much advertisement of Long Creek. Volley ball and basket-ball teams were organized. Girls' teams were also developed and it was coöperation in athletics that first broke down the exclusiveness of the girls. A Hallowe'en program which included every girl from the

eighth grade up was launched. Under the disguises an evening of fun was enjoyed and incidentally almost one hundred dollars was raised to support athletics.

New Difficulties. Two and one-half months after school opened it became an assured fact that necessary funds for the equipment of an accredited high school had been secured. Those who had worked so industriously paused for a rest. Things moved along smoothly for one month. Then roads became bad during January freezes, the school trucks ran late, children had to wait in the cold. Those who had always doubted the wisdom of consolidation secretly gloated over this condition of affairs. Then measles broke out in the school. Not one fatality occurred, but the effect upon the new spirit of consolidation was almost fatal. Many parents were convinced that their children had measles because they rode on crowded trucks and they became especially concerned over the fact that sometimes the children were taken ill at school far from home. They failed to consider the fact that children who became ill at the consolidated school were driven home in the school truck, whereas formerly if illness overtook them at the one-teacher school they had to walk a distance of one to three miles, often over a muddy road. Failure to see the situation in its real light caused transportation of pupils to become very unpopular.

Just as this epidemic waned it was found that there was not enough money to run the school longer than six months. In the summer when the budget had been made out for the Long Creek school the county had included salary for only seven teachers. Immediately after school opened the enrollment demanded two more teachers. Thus the amount apportioned to the school was used up long before the end of the term was reached. Something

had to be done. Desire to have the school on the accredited list had brought the people together and if the school failed to run the full term that effort was lost. The crisis aroused much discussion and it soon became evident that public opinion would support the raising of additional school funds. The school board, led by the Hopewell leaders and the county superintendent, asked the county board of education to allow them to borrow enough money to run the school for the two additional months, provided the district would vote an additional tax. Since the first tax had carried by such a large majority it was the general supposition that the increase would be voted without difficulty. In the year that had elapsed since the first voting, however, one man in the Davidson community who had become jealous of the Hopewell leaders for personal reasons and who had become more and more envious as the consolidated school prospered, determined to use his influence to defeat the increase in tax. As has been stated, there are large numbers of tenant farmers in Mecklenburg county, the percentage of white tenants in Hopewell and Davidson neighborhoods running especially high. To these people this man made his appeal. Unfortunately, many of their children had to walk a mile or more to the road traversed by the school truck, a condition which had caused much dissatisfaction. Besides, the red clay road through this section was poorly kept and dangerous for automobiles in bad weather. These grievances were magnified by the Davidson leader, and the consolidated school in this section of the district became more unpopular than ever. This movement against the proposed school tax was strengthened by the support of those families that had from the start been opposed to consolidation. All was quietly done, so quietly that those who were favoring

the appropriation for a longer term did not realize that anything was wrong until a very short time before the vote was to be cast.

Final Success. In the meanwhile the school entered the state triangular debate. Even in this contest, care was taken to have the neighborhoods equally represented. The debate was to be held on Friday, the day before the election. Long Creek High School received unanimous decisions in both debates and was one of the two schools in Mecklenburg county to receive such distinction. The people were elated over this success. Their school had won over schools that had been established many years.

The father of one of the debaters had been a wholehearted follower of the opponent of the tax. The next morning he was the first man to vote for the proposed tax. He plainly stated that he had been told that it was not their school but merely a scheme to increase their tax burdens. Now he was convinced that he had a real stake in the school. This was the sentiment of many more who had been either openly opposed or else rather doubtful about the wisdom of increasing the school appropriation. When the sun set that March afternoon the tax had carried by a majority of six. Though the victory for the school was won by such a narrow margin, the result was enough to convince the leader of the opposition that he was not only beaten but discredited by his community. Following this election, he withdrew from public life and has made no further attacks on the school.

Two weeks later three other school districts in the township voted in favor of the additional tax rate and were made a part of the Long Creek Consolidated School District. Therefore, the summer of 1923 saw rapid work again being done on that school ground, this time to enlarge the building. The teacherage was bought and made

into a thoroughly modern home for the teachers. The consolidated school had in one year strengthened its position in spite of much opposition. While the welding of local into community spirit was not fully achieved during the next few years, the difficulties to be overcome were neither so many nor so serious. Gradually the prejudices of the various sections are being overcome, coöperation is becoming easier, while the successful operation of the school is constituting the most effective answer to critics. After five years the outlook for the future is promising.

CHAPTER XIII

DAYTONA: THE CHANGING STATUS OF RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

Introductory Note. The presence in American communities of competing churches representing different forms of religious belief has frequently been a disorganizing force in community life. Emphasis upon the freedom of religious worship, which has been a deeply-rooted American tradition, has encouraged the establishment of a much wider variety of sects and denominations than is compatible with Christian unity. An inevitable result of this diversity of religious belief and practice has been a multiplicity of churches in many communities, a condition of affairs that is so widespread that its significance is frequently disregarded.

During the nineteenth century when sectarian controversies occupied a great amount of public attention, the local church groups often formed hostile camps and built up such barriers between them that it became difficult to unite in support of other community interests. In places where religious rivalry was carried to such an extent, community solidarity was seriously undermined and the church became a divisive force not at all in keeping with its fundamental principles. At the present time it is evident that while the prevalent disorganization caused by competing churches is still an important religious problem, it in many places has much less significance than formerly as a disrupting community force.

In the rural community of Daytona, the Moravians and

the Methodists were divided during the pioneer period of settlement into two sharply competing groups. From the start each group not merely differed in religious beliefs but developed distinctive traits and attitudes which widened the gulf between them. For many years the conflicts that arose in the community were usually connected with religious matters, and church affiliation was the determining factor in lining up the people on opposing sides. With the rise of other important issues about the time of the World War, the people in the community began to be characterized as progressives and conservatives, depending upon whether they were for or against suggested improvements in their community institutions. These two new groups cut across the old religious divisions and in the controversies over good roads and improved schools the church issues of the past were forced into the background.

Nevertheless interest in the church did not decline in this community because of the increased attention to civic problems. Progressives and conservatives were arrayed against each other during the week, but on Sunday worshiped side by side in their respective churches. The construction of a modern consolidated school building was followed by the rebuilding of their churches in a more elaborate manner. From the religious point of view the significant change that has taken place is the replacing of the sect by the denomination with its attitude of tolerance in matters of religion. But the community is no more united than it was in the old days when Moravians and Methodists struggled for supremacy. The scene of the conflict has merely shifted to other interests, and through the contention of opposing forces, advance in the direction of community improvement is made possible.

General Characteristics. Located in the piedmont section of North Carolina is a rural township named Daytona, which has after many years of conflict achieved sufficient solidarity to be known throughout the county as a well-knit community. This is all the more remarkable since it has no town or village to serve as the center of community life. No railway, electric line, or state highway crosses its borders. Yet in spite of its isolation its people are well-to-do, if not prosperous, and in recent years at least maintain many connections with the outside world. Of its two hundred families more than 90 per cent are home-owners and almost an equal number own one or more cars. The race problem has never been a troublesome factor since the Negroes are very much in the minority.

Early Settlement by the Moravians and Methodists. From the beginning of the community it has been essentially religious in character and its early conflicts have grown out of the sharp struggles between the two competing religious groups, the Moravians and the Methodists. Its origin goes back to the middle of the eighteenth century, when a few Moravian families settled in the northern portion of the township and constructed as their neighborhood center the Bethel Moravian church. During these early years this church and neighborhood maintained close relations with Salem, the large Moravian settlement ten miles away which had already become the most important and accessible trading center for that section of the country.

Meanwhile a few miles south of this Moravian neighborhood several Methodist families established themselves and built Mt. Zion Methodist church. From the first these two groups were entirely separated. In addition to the religious differences which helped to keep the

people apart, the Moravians possessed a superior culture growing out of their close contacts with the near-by Moravian town. While both groups visited this common trading center, the Moravians had more opportunities to participate intimately in its cultural life. Salem pastors often held services in the Bethel Moravian church and the Salem people sometimes spent their vacations with Moravian friends in Bethel neighborhood. The Methodists, lacking these town associations, developed a culture and traditions of their own and tended to become more rural-minded and conservative. As a result of these differences in the early situation of these religious groups, the Moravians became the leaders in the initiation of new methods. It was at the Bethel Moravian church that the first Sunday school rooms were built, the first young people's Bible classes and ladies' aid societies established, and the first heating and lighting systems installed. The Methodists generally scoffed at these new-fangled ideas when they first appeared and then later followed suit in their effort to keep pace with their more progressive neighbors.

Contrasting Attitudes and Traditions. But in spite of this tendency to imitate the standards of the Moravian group, the cleavage between the two churches widened with the passing years, and was plainly apparent in the customs and practices of each church neighborhood. The Moravians laid great stress upon carefully kept historical records, maintained a beautiful and well-arranged cemetery, celebrated many church festivals, and developed proficiency in church music, while the Methodists looked upon such matters as dead formalism of little use in the development of a deep spiritual life. To the casual visitor, the Methodist cemetery, poorly laid out and ill kept, afforded striking evidence of the cultural differences be-

tween the two neighborhoods. Very possibly the ill-concealed feeling of superiority on the part of the Moravians caused the non-Moravian group in self-defense to develop greater solidarity. Unlike the surrounding townships where the people divided their allegiance among various denominations, the non-Moravians united in support of Mt. Zion Methodist church irrespective of their previous denominational preferences. This division of the township into two rival religious groups representing well-defined differences in both creed and culture exerted a profound influence over its early history and did not lose its significance until the emergence of new interests forced the churches more into the background.

Beginnings of Decline of Church Solidarity. The first steps in the breakdown of the solidarity of these two church groups occurred shortly after Moravian families began settling on farms in the vicinity of Mt. Zion Methodist church. In that section of the township there was more available land than in the older Moravian settlement and this fact led to the building up of a mixed neighborhood where Moravians and Methodists lived on adjoining farms. At first these Moravians, loyal to their own faith, drove every Sunday past the Methodist church to their own church four miles away. Later, after they had formed closer friendships with their Methodist neighbors, they began attending their neighborhood church. After all, why should they drive their tired farm horses by one church in order to attend one more distant? Moreover, their children preferred to go to church with their friends with whom they played in the neighborhood school. But this tendency to transfer their church loyalty to the rival denomination did not at all please the Moravian leaders. Their attempt to deal with this situation led to the establishment of two Moravian Sunday schools

south and west of Mt. Zion. The Methodists retaliated by starting a mission Sunday school of their own in still another neighborhood. These new organizations taxed the resources of the several groups for the families were too few to support properly these additional places of worship. Denominational loyalty, however, arose to the emergency and gradually these Sunday schools developed into weak churches whose struggles for existence fostered local church pride and jealousy. Religious differences were kept in the foreground but the original lines of division were obscured by the fact that there were now five church neighborhoods, each strongly inclined to promote its own interests. While the township still had its two rival denominations, their solidarity was weakened by this separation into smaller units and their position of influence in the community was made thereby less secure.

Meanwhile various forces were at work which fostered the association of people along other than religious lines. One of these was the custom of mutual aid in their regular farm work as well as in times of emergencies. Large numbers gathered together for corn huskings and tobacco barn raisings. If a farmer's house or barn burned, the neighbors helped construct a new building. In case of sickness they sowed the wheat of the man who was ill. Moravians and Methodists joined forces freely on such occasions and apparently forgot their religious differences. At Springdale, where the religious rivalry was keenest, a brass band was organized to which both Moravian and Methodist young people belonged. This band attained more than a local reputation and all the people in the township were proud of its musical accomplishments and of the splendid appearance of its members in their gilt-lined blue uniforms. The Junior Order of the United American Mechanics built up a strong local lodge

to which members of both denominations belonged. Throughout the township this lodge became very popular because it provided cheap sickness and life insurance, and besides its mysterious rites and ornate symbolism brought color and relief from the monotony of farm work. Twice each year creek meetings were held at which attendance was required of all those whose farms touched the two large creeks that ran through the township. Every male citizen between the ages of twenty-one and fifty had to give a certain amount of time to work on the public roads. Certain days during the slack farming season were set aside for this communal task, which became an important means of promoting friendly association among the men.

The Good Roads Controversy. It was indeed in connection with the growing demand for good roads that the traditional religious divisions lost much of their former importance. When in 1915 the county issued $200,000 in bonds for road building, a new topic for discussion was provided which was of far more practical interest than religious controversy. Some thought the bonds a godsend, others looked upon them as the worst kind of unpayable debts. "Our children will be in debt all their lives" voiced the feeling of those who opposed this terrible extravagance. With this divided sentiment it was impossible for the county to secure in this township the free right of way and the top soil for surfacing purposes which were the conditions under which county coöperation in road building could be obtained. While the people of this township were trying to come to an agreement concerning the road-building program, other townships readily complied with the county's conditions and quickly exhausted the entire bond issue.

With the entrance of America into the World War, the

financial status of the farmers in this township rapidly improved. Land that had been selling for $35 an acre produced tobacco that brought in a gross annual income of $350 per acre. People who never before knew what it was to have surplus money began to start bank accounts. A few of the more progressive invested some of their extra money in Ford cars. Soon it was discovered that a car was not merely a mark of distinction but was of great use in the marketing of farm produce. A round trip to Salem required a whole day for the old type of conveyance, while a Ford lessened the time to a few hours. Besides, since all felt that they were on the same social level, the man who did not own a car disliked to pull his horse out of the road to let his neighbor's car pass by and then be compelled to "eat his dust." Fords therefore rapidly increased in numbers until nearly all the families boasted this new means of transportation.

This advance in car ownership naturally stimulated interest in better roads. Some of the conservatives who had fought the bond issue as a "hellish debt" regretted their former attitude. It was generally agreed that good roads must be built but no decision could be reached as to which roads should be constructed first. Various local groups of farmers besieged the County Road Commission for assistance in building roads planned to suit their convenience. Soon the whole township was split into hostile factions. Every home-owner wanted a road built by his house. Finally a beginning was made by constructing the highway over which practically all the people of the township had to pass on their way to the city. The county furnished half, and in this way the first graded road in the township was completed. With the road-building program well under way a more coöperative spirit developed. As the county road funds for road work

became low, the people of the township assumed a larger share of the work. In five years thirty-five miles of sand clay roads had been successfully finished, which included all the important roads in the township.

Realignment as Progressives and Conservatives. One of the effects of this long siege of road building was the development of a strong feeling of solidarity among those who had worked side by side in carrying through this program of public improvement. Not all of course had coöperated by contributing their share of the labor. Those who held back formed a minority group much criticized by their more public-spirited and progressive neighbors. In this division between the progressives and non-progressives, denominational lines were minimized. The important thing in determining the status of a family in the community was not the church to which they belonged but the part they had taken in building the township roads.

This new alignment of the people in the township assumed greater significance when it was found that those who had fought the road-building program were against all measures of a progressive nature. The conservatives were the ones who clung to the cheap one- and two-teacher schools and purchased unwillingly War Savings Stamps and Liberty Bonds. The progressives, on the other hand, were proud of what they had done in improving conditions and began to make concerted efforts to gain greater recognition for their township. In every Liberty Loan drive they saw to it that their township oversubscribed its quota while neighboring townships failed to do their part. The county paper called attention to the good showing made by this township and commented on the fact that it was now developing into a real community. As a matter of fact it was still divided into two opposing camps, but

this rivalry, unlike the religious factionalism of the earlier days, brought together those who had fundamental interests in common and thus stimulated the growth of community consciousness.

The Consolidation of Schools. This struggle between the progressives and the conservatives for the improvement of conditions in the township reached its culmination in the controversy over the proposed building of a central school. Following the War, a great deal of dissatisfaction began to be felt over the school situation. The six small schools located in the different neighborhoods of the township were unable to give much instruction beyond the elementary grades. By 1918 two of the schools had, through a special school tax, secured sufficient funds to employ one high school teacher but this was insufficient to meet the requirements for standard high schools. The nearest high school at Salem in the adjoining county was overcrowded and therefore could not grant admission to outside students. To send their older children to distant private schools was too expensive for the majority of the families. The best way out of the difficulty, it seemed, was to consolidate their schools and with the aid of state and county funds maintain their own township high school.

When this plan was seriously proposed, those "for" and those "against" coincided to a remarkable degree with the two groups involved in the road controversy. For three years the fight for a central school was carried on with such intense feeling that all families became involved in it. The matter first came to a vote in 1920 but the election was declared illegal because of technicalities. The following year a second election was planned and in preparation for it the progressives arranged for discussion meetings in the various neighborhoods in the town-

ship. These meetings, however, failed in their purpose for those opposed to the central school plan refused to attend. On one occasion when a meeting was announced in a school building the door was found locked and the chairman of the local school committee declined to hand over the key. Nothing daunted, the proponents of the meeting secured entrance through a window, opened the door from the inside and proceeded with the discussion only to find that all the members of the opposition had resolutely stayed at home. As the campaign proceeded, the interest became very keen, with neither side gaining any great advantage. When the votes were counted, it was found that the result was almost a tie. Charges of irregularity in the election were made and later sustained by a decision of the courts, thus making a third election necessary.

The next year more careful preparations were made by the central school group. Expert legal advice was retained so that all the technical requirements of the school election should be met. So much interest was aroused that every person of voting age registered for the election. The people against the central school plan were sincerely and religiously opposed to it. Those for it were equally sincere and earnest in their determination to have a well-equipped school for their children. Prayer meetings were held by the proponents of the central school for several weeks before election day dawned. Since it was realized that the election would be close, every effort was made to get out all the votes. The opposition had registered a feeble-minded woman in spite of the protest of the progressives. On the day preceding the election a prominent woman of the progressive group drove up the rough trail to the ill-kept cabin of this feeble-minded person and brought her home to assist in some work that

necessitated her staying overnight. Early next morning this shabbily-clad, feeble-minded woman, accompanied by her employer, visited the polls and voted for the consolidation of schools. Old people and those almost bedridden were taken to the polls in the desperate effort of each side to win the election. The final counting of the ballots showed that the progressives had won by the narrow margin of six votes.

Immediately plans were launched for the building of an adequate school plant. The county and state authorities agreed to contribute an amount equal to that furnished by the township. Five acres of ground were offered as a school site in the neighborhood of Mt. Zion Methodist church. Many did not want the school at that place, but no other suitable free sites were available. Fortunately the proposed site was centrally located and when it was agreed that the school should not be given the neighborhood name of Mt. Zion but the township name of Daytona the majority became reconciled to the erection of the new school at that place.

Work on the new school building began in August and by the middle of November it was ready for use. The long delay caused by the failure of the two elections had made the people impatient and they were determined to have the school in operation as soon as possible. In order to save expense, the people who had voted for the school built it largely with their own hands. The only hired workers in the construction of the $25,000 building were the masons and plasterers. In a real sense the building belonged to the people for they had not merely fought for the right to build it, but had given freely of their time and strength in its construction. As in the road-building program, those who gave free labor were the progressives. The defeated party declined to have a share in this com-

munity enterprise. The cleavage therefore between the two groups widened. Although the school was soon in successful operation and attended by the children of both factions, most of the conservatives still continued to look upon the school with disfavor. Some perhaps held aloof because they were ashamed of their active opposition, while others still seemed to think that the old method of educating their children was best.

Changed Attitude Toward Religious Differences. Since the consolidated school was the product of the persistent efforts of both Moravians and Methodists, those in control were determined that religious differences should not interfere with its successful operation. The policy was established of employing no teachers who had gone to school in the township. Formerly the competition between the two religious groups for the coveted teaching positions had been very keen, but with the bringing in of outsiders to conduct the school the old jealousies in school administration disappeared.

The religious conflict that had divided the township in former days was apparently being replaced by a more normal spirit of peaceful rivalry between the churches. In keeping with improved conditions in the township, four of the church buildings were remodeled and enlarged, while the fifth united with Bethel. Young people's societies were organized. Each church held its own socials, bazaars, and other gatherings designed to retain the loyalty of its members. While the majority of the people in the township had united to good advantage in the support of a central school, there was no disposition for the small churches to unite with the two large parent churches at Bethel and Mt. Zion. It was suggested by some that the struggling Moravian church at Springdale should close

its doors and move its membership to Bethel. All the families that worshiped there had cars and the roads were good. But neighborhood loyalty won out and at great financial sacrifice the fifty members of the church enlarged the church plant and provided it with modern equipment in keeping with the style set by the parent church at Bethel.

The continued hold of the church on people of the township is shown by the fact that in church affairs both progressives and conservatives work side by side in behalf of their common religious interests. During the week they may be bitterly opposed to each other in matters of township improvements, but on Sunday they worship together in peace and join hands in building up their church. An interesting example of the union of the two groups is seen in the Bethel Chorus, composed of twelve Moravian men, six progressives and six conservatives. Each week this Chorus meets for practice and by means of its successful concerts has attained popularity far beyond the borders of the county. In spite of the pull of outside interests the church still holds the affections of the people. Whatever sacrifices are required to maintain its prestige, they stand ready to make them at any time. But they need no longer fight for it. The sect has been replaced by the denomination with its greater spirit of tolerance for other forms of religious belief and worship. Freed from the old religious conflict, the people have been able to build up a common community life around the school and its activities. In this new community center the township fair is held. Political meetings, farmers' clubs, and entertainments of all kinds have ready access to the school auditorium. The Parent-Teacher Association has equipped the school with an electric light plant, three

pianos, a victrola, and books for the library, in the effort to build up an institution in which all might have just pride.

As the stranger passes through this township to-day over improved roads built largely by the people themselves, looks upon the well-equipped rural churches and the modern school building, and admires the fertile farms and comfortable homes, he is little aware of the long struggle and conflict out of which the present community has emerged. It is only the old resident who knows how superficial is this present appearance of unity and can appreciate the strength of the divided interests and various factions with their traditions and loyalties and power to disturb the present order when new controversial issues arise.

CHAPTER XIV

CROATAN: RACIAL SEGREGATION IN A RURAL COMMUNITY

Introductory Note. The marked tendency of the various nationalities and races in our large cities and industrial centers to segregate themselves in neighborhoods or localities of their own is a problem to which considerable attention has been given. This segregation, whether voluntary or brought about by social and economic pressure, seems to strengthen the barriers that separate these racial groups from the general population, and therefore, it is believed, tends to perpetuate racial differences. Nevertheless, this segregation is rarely carried out completely, and there are always disintegrating influences at work that facilitate the escape of those who wish to live under different surroundings. Moreover, the nature of the city itself, with its vast network of social and industrial relationships, makes a wide variety of contacts inevitable, irrespective of the particular neighborhood where a person may happen to live.

In the rural community, on the other hand, racial segregation is likely to prove to be a much more serious matter. When a racial group of low social and economic status forms a community of its own in the open country, the conservative attitudes of the surrounding people, the dearth of opportunities for social contacts, and the geographical isolation, all conspire to make the process of segregation complete. The Croatan community, described in this chapter, presents a picture of a despised

racial group isolated under rural conditions. The tendency of the county officials to deny the Croatans needed improvements, to take advantage of their ignorance, and to connive with them in the breaking of the law, sets forth county government at its worst. Under such conditions the Croatan community was bound to deteriorate and become more addicted to the vices which made wholesome community life impossible.

It is particularly significant that this Croatan community, although forced to maintain a kind of solidarity so as to protect itself against a hostile world, was split up into different factions which prevented the attainment of real unity. While this factional spirit was not a direct result of enforced segregation, its unfortunate effects on the community were enhanced by the inability of these people to participate normally in the activities of the world about them. Torn by jealousies within and hampered by race prejudice without, this small racial community faces a handicap that cannot be easily overcome.

Nature of the Community. In the sandhill section of South Carolina is a small rural community of about thirty Croatan families. The term "Croatan" is a local name for a group of people of Indian descent who some time in the past mingled their blood with both Negroes and whites. Their status as Indians was lost through this intermixture with Negroes and yet they feel superior to the latter and do not readily associate with them. Cut off from normal contact with both races that surround them, they have formed a racial community of their own, known throughout the county for its clannishness, ignorance, and inbreeding.

Geographically this Croatan community is isolated from the rest of the county. The main lines of travel do not pass through it. There is no scenery to attract the

visitor nor does it offer an opportunity to the stranger for financial profit. Consequently the single road that passes through the community is seldom traveled by outsiders except perhaps by politicians in search of votes. In general, the Croatans are ignored by the people of the county, many even refusing to have any business dealings with them. The county commissioners will not appropriate money to give this community any improvements. The county superintendent of education has never visited their school and pays little attention to their educational problems. They are spoken of commonly as "a low-down, degenerate bunch," whose stock has deteriorated through long continued inbreeding and poor heredity.

Relations With County Government. Unlike the Negroes living in this section, the Croatans are permitted to vote in the county elections. Prior to election-time the community is invaded by politicians who find little difficulty in buying votes for fifty cents or a dollar each. According to the older Croatans, this custom of selling votes grew out of their feeling that this was their only method of getting any advantage out of county government. Long experience had taught them the futility of expecting election promises to be fulfilled. On one occasion they had refused to sell their votes for county road supervisor because one of the candidates for this office had convinced them that he would have their road improved if elected. With great unanimity they gave him their support, only to be informed by him after his election that he could not carry out his part of the agreement. While this was a bitter disappointment, it did have a unifying effect, for the people got together and improved their road themselves just to show "that white fellow" that they were not dependent on his favor.

Their lack of interest in county affairs is further seen in the failure of many in the community to pay their taxes. Since the soil is poor and sandy and the people not inclined to be hard-working and thrifty, money is scarce and the payment of even small taxes would in some cases be a real hardship. The sheriff, whose duty it is to collect the taxes, usually finds it convenient to overlook this community. Knowing that the Croatans have the reputation of being lawless and inclined to violence, he prefers not to force the issue with them. Then, besides, he may need their votes when he comes up for reëlection, and they could not be bought cheaply if he gained their ill-will.

Disunity Within the Community. In a small community of this kind where the people are deprived of normal social contacts with the outside world because of race prejudice, one would expect to find at least the outward appearance of unity. As a matter of fact this conflict with the outer world is paralleled by internal dissension. Among the Croatan families the color line is so strictly drawn that plans for organization of the community cannot well be carried out. The families that think they are purer Indian, or white, as the case may be, refuse to associate with the others on equal terms. The feeling is so intense in regard to differences in social caste that a child is sometimes taken out of school because he must sit beside another child who is believed to have more Negro blood. When an attempt is made to give a school entertainment, difficulties of a similar nature arise. Since the establishment of the school about fifteen years ago, no public program has been given without conflicts arising among the various families of the community. These strongly felt differences in social status permeate the en-

tire social life of the people. Fraternal orders can not be maintained because of this problem. Even the one Methodist church, to which most of the people belong, is torn by this factional spirit.

Attitude Toward School Affairs. Nevertheless, in spite of this dissension among themselves, they do manage to stand together in behalf of their own interests when the outside world interferes with the control of their affairs. Up until five years ago they would not let an outsider teach in their school. With the passage of the state law requiring higher educational qualifications for teachers, they were forced to employ an outsider because no one in their community could measure up to the new standards. For the first two years, the unwelcome teacher was gotten rid of as quickly as possible, the school then remaining closed the rest of the term. At the present time the outside teacher is tolerated, provided she is able to win the good-will of the community.

The people responded in a similar manner to the effort of the county authorities to enforce the school attendance law. Many parents sent their children to school very irregularly and they rose up in arms when they were told that the school law must be obeyed. Under the leadership of their pastor, an untrained local preacher, they asserted that no one had the right to interfere with the parents' control over their children. It was, in fact, this minister who led the campaign against high school education, and other movements looking toward community improvement. This leader, ignorant though he is, has great influence with his people, because he voices their feelings of discontent over their unjust treatment and failure to achieve social status. On the other hand, their willingness to follow such an incompetent person gives

further proof to the outside world that this community is hopelessly backward and incapable of profiting by efforts to improve their situation.

Ill Effects of Segregation. This segregation of these Croatans within the narrow confines of their own community is apparently resulting in their further deterioration. Their mobility is low and consequently outside contacts of a favorable kind are few. With the exception of a few trips each year to the neighboring city they remain within their own territory. A small neighborhood store run by one of their own people suffices for their ordinary purchases. There is no opportunity for them to settle on farms outside their community. The only place to which they may migrate is a similar Croatan settlement in a neighboring state. This, however, is far away, and interchange of visits seldom occurs. Since the families are uniformly large in size, this lack of opportunity to escape to other communities is becoming a serious problem. With a typical family consisting of nine children, the standard of living must remain low, especially in view of the poor fertility of the soil and the small size of the farms. The owner of the store, who is more favorably situated for making money, has had his resources strained to the utmost to bring up his twenty-two children, all born of the same mother.

Under existing circumstances the outlook for the future of this community is not at all promising. The peculiar status of the people caused by their mixed blood, their internal dissensions based on supposed differences in ancestry, their enforced segregation with the resulting marriage of near kin, their low economic resources and expanding population, are among the more important disorganizing factors found in this rural Croatan community.

CHAPTER XV

POMONA: ECONOMIC STAGNATION AND DISORGANIZATION

Introductory Note. One of the interesting types of communities that merit careful study is the small town that has not merely ceased to grow in size, but apparently is so situated that it has no reasonable hope of future expansion. During the past few decades there has been increasing statistical evidence of the existence of such towns in considerable numbers in different sections of the country. In the struggle for industrial and economic success these towns have lost out and consequently cannot support additional numbers of people. This condition of stabilized population in a rapidly growing nation where progress is frequently identified with population growth is commonly regarded as a sign of decadence. Instead of making an easy adjustment to this condition of stability the people living in such a town are likely to become discouraged, business declines, its institutions lack proper support, and the entire place presents year after year a more unkempt appearance.

Eno Mills, which was described in an earlier chapter as an economically saturated community, seemed to owe a great deal of its later difficulties to the fact that its best young people were forced to leave in their search for employment. It was suggested in the discussion of Eno Mills that its economic stagnation bore a close relation to the condition of disorganization so apparent on every hand. In this study of Pomona further evidence is

brought to bear upon this point. This sleepy southern town, isolated from the main currents of life in the state in which it is located, and incapable of economic advancement, became a prey in recent years to disorganizing influences which seemed to paralyze all efforts to build up the town's institutions and make the place attractive and wholesome. Without doubt, certain types of disorganization follow inevitably in the wake of economic failure. The town that does not make reasonable progress in building up increasing economic returns can neither provide for an expanding population nor keep pace with the insistent modern demand for public improvements and better-equipped institutions. Under American conditions as they exist at the present day, the dwarfed growth of a municipality is a handicap which seems to lead to further deterioration.

The Struggle to Become a City. In one of the states of the lower South is the county seat of Pomona with a population of 1,500 people, 1,100 whites and 400 Negroes. Established eighty-five years ago in the geographical center of a fertile agricultural county, it possessed from the start prestige as a seat of county government and soon succeeded in building up profitable trade relations with the surrounding large plantations. With the coming of the Civil War, the best men entered the army, the slaves scattered, and the plantations were left desolate. During reconstruction days, the period of disorganization continued and the town showed no signs of recovery until about 1890, when a newly constructed branch line of a railroad facilitated communication with the outside world.

Under the stimulus of this new development, new stores were opened, water power began to be utilized, an electric light plant was built, and a water system was installed.

Land values increased, and in a few years an appropriation was secured for the building of a high school and a new courthouse. During this period of expansion streets were improved and the old churches were rebuilt in a manner befitting a prosperous community. For two decades after the coming of the railroad, the town made great strides forward, almost doubling its population during that time. Then to the consternation of its real estate boosters, it practically ceased growing and gradually settled down into the rôle of a conservative county seat, content to exist as a trade center for the surrounding farmers. While few of the citizens would admit it, the town had reached its upper limit of expansion under existing economic conditions. With only a branch line of a railroad to furnish transportation, it was unable to compete successfully with other more favorably located towns in developing industrial establishments. Its future growth was dependent upon trade with the rural people, and even here its dominant position was threatened by the rise of rival towns in other sections of the county.

Evidences of Present Disorganization. In this failure to become an important city as its inhabitants had fondly hoped, Pomona merely shared the common fate of many other small towns disadvantageously located. Nevertheless a careful study of the present situation of this town reveals that its stagnation in material growth is equaled by its backward institutions and the inability of its citizens to keep pace with modern developments. For example, the religious life of the people is still in the sectarian stage. Five churches are maintained, three of them very indifferently, but all extremely conscious of their superiority in matters of belief and worship. The plan of joining forces in support of a community church would bring forth horrified protests from every church leader.

It is even unthinkable that the churches should unite in support of some community improvement. A few years ago the two strongest churches, the Baptist and Methodist, became able for the first time to employ a full-time minister, and the Presbyterians, in spite of their lack of financial resources, immediately followed suit in order not to be outdone by their rivals. The deep interest displayed in religious differences is seen in the fact that the religious affiliation of the applicants for positions as teachers in the public schools has an important bearing upon their employment. Moreover, the conduct of these teachers is closely watched, and if one should attend a dance or other social function not approved by the churches, she would be asked to resign.

The public school, overshadowed by religious rivalries, has not made much headway. The deep interest in the moral conduct of the teachers does not extend to their professional preparation and ability in the class-room. The majority of the children drop out of school as soon as they have finished the elementary grades. The few from the more ambitious families, who graduate from high school and are sent away to college, are never willing to return to Pomona to live. The young people who cast in their lot permanently in the home town are usually poorly educated, lacking in ambition, and perfectly content to settle down in a clerking position in their relative's store where they readily adjust themselves to the humdrum monotony of small-town life.

The political situation has for a number of years been unsettled. In 1918, an organized group of local men entered the courthouse at night, forced open the county safes and stole the county tax records for the purpose, so it was reported, of compelling a reassessment of the property and a lowering of the tax rate. There followed days

of futile search which lengthened into weeks and months. The town seethed with talk. Men and women gathered fearfully in small groups to discuss it. The community was torn between two factions: one comprising the officials in power and their supporters, who were opposed to such violent and lawless measures, and the other, made up of the poorer people and the malcontents who wanted to run the county government themselves. This latter party managed to perfect its organization and at the next election voted their own leaders into office. As an anti-climax the tax books were finally found in the bottom of the river. Too late it was discovered that the persons involved in the stealing were enjoying important positions in the new administration. This political conflict brought with it much bitterness and caused some of the older and more substantial families to sell their property and move elsewhere.

The World War, which developed in many towns a spirit of at least temporary unity, did not bring about this result in Pomona. Its citizens seemed hardly aware of the great struggle in which the nation was engaged. The town life moved placidly on its way. The few eligible young men either enlisted or were drafted and went quietly away. There was no Red Cross unit, no bandage-making or knitting; only a quiet folding of hands, an irritability over the shortage of sugar and flour, with no conception of the significance of this crisis in the history of the nation.

The customary civic and cultural organizations such as the Parent-Teachers Association, mothers' clubs, and literary clubs, have never had much popularity. The interest of the women is absorbed in the maintenance of small clubs for the playing of rook, bridge, and five hundred, which furnish them ample opportunity to get together and

gossip. The chief organizations for the men have been the usual variety of fraternal orders, the Masons, Shriners, Woodmen of the World, Knights of Pythias, but even these have received very indifferent support.

For the boys and girls of adolescent age there is no provision for suitable recreation. No Boy Scout troops or girls' clubs of any kind have been organized to overcome the tendency of the children to loaf on the streets. The one picture show which the town boasts specializes in the presentation of Wild West photoplays and cheap melodrama of the more sensational type. The older group of young people have insisted on dancing in spite of protests, and apparently this forbidden form of pleasure is becoming accepted as inevitable. There is no public library where the young folks can secure good books to read. There is in fact little interest in books except those of the more lurid kind. Few of the homes have even small libraries, and where books are found they are likely to be kept for show rather than for real use.

This brief sketch of social and economic conditions at Pomona is sufficient to reveal the apparent hopelessness of its present situation. During the fifteen or twenty years that have elapsed since it ceased to grow in size and in financial importance, its institutional life has stagnated and it has become the prey of disorganizing forces. Isolation, the sense of failure, lack of financial resources, loss of leadership, and no hopeful outlook for the future, are among the factors that seem to make inevitable the town's further deterioration.

CHAPTER XVI

GRANVILLE: A TOWN'S DECLINE FROM POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TO MEDIOCRITY

Introductory Note. A century ago or less, prior to the era of rapid city growth, many towns possessing only a small population maintained themselves as centers of influence and political power. During the pioneer period of development a strategic location and enterprising leadership by men of ability were sufficient to give even a small town opportunity to achieve distinction. In more recent years, with the growth of industry and large commercial interests, the place of leadership has gone to the large population centers. Whatever advantages the small town has possessed in the past, they have dwindled into insignificance when compared with the dazzling opportunities offered by the city. As a result of this change to a more distinctively urban civilization, the small town seems destined to play a constantly declining rôle.

This decline from leadership to mediocrity is well illustrated by the historic town of Granville, located in one of the South Atlantic States. At one time a center of culture and influence, it is now an unimportant agricultural trade center with little but its past history to distinguish it from hundreds of other towns scattered through that section of the country. The descendants of the families that once gave it fame have settled in other places. In their stead are people of apparently inferior stock who have moved in from the country round about and show little inclination to keep up the traditions of the past. Particularly

depressing is the fact that the town's chief heritage from its former more prosperous days seems to be an insistence on class distinctions for which there is no longer a sound social or economic basis. Through this caste system, the little leadership the town still possesses is sharply divided and the town's further development is thereby made more uncertain.

To-day this town, which was once a political center of importance, presents a very unprepossessing appearance to the automobile tourist passing through on his way to more attractive places. There has been no growth in business to compensate for the loss of political leadership. The unkempt stores and offices on its one main street bear striking witness to the low financial state to which the town has fallen. For more than a generation the town has failed to increase its population and there is no reason to believe that it will regain in the near future even a small share of its former renown.

The Early History. The history of this town goes back to pre-Revolutionary days, when it came into existence as a halfway point between the coastal towns on the east and the newer settlements that had been established in the west central part of the state. Gradually it assumed political importance because of its geographical relation to both east and west. A general assembly met there during the Revolution and because of its strong Tory leanings refused to ratify the Federal Constitution. It contained, however, a sufficient number of Federalists to make possible a relatively easy transition for the town as a whole when the fortunes of war turned against the pro-British.

Following the Revolution, Granville continued for many years to be one of the most important towns in the state. At the time of the Civil War it was still small

in size, having a population of approximately 400, but numbered among its citizens some of the state's most prominent families and was well known for its excellent private schools. During the entire nineteenth century many political leaders came from the Granville families; in fact at one time, about the middle of the century, the Secretary of the Navy, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and two United States Senators were natives and residents of Granville.

The town also enjoyed popularity during last century as a summer resort for many of the old families of the coastal towns. Located as it is in a particularly hilly section of the Piedmont, it affords a considerable change from the lowlands of the coast both in climate and scenery. In these respects it is the equal of any place east of the mountains, which are about one hundred and fifty miles farther west. With the arrival of improved roads and automobiles, the development of the mountain resorts, and the scattering of the old families, the town lost out as a vacation spot for summer residents.

Reasons for Decline. As in other small towns of the state, the Civil War caused a considerable change. Most of the families who had owned large plantations lost their possessions and it became necessary for them to seek their livelihood in business enterprises. Since Granville had been a political center with practically no manufacturing industries, it offered few business opportunities to those who were forced to start anew during the trying days of reconstruction. Moreover, the old aristocratic traditions of the town stood in the way of those who wished to turn the place into an industrial center. It is related that when the Dukes first conceived the idea of a tobacco factory in the seventies, they made two attempts to obtain property at Granville, but in each case were

turned away by the old residents who did not want their beautiful town to be marred by such a low-brow industry. The Dukes thereupon located their factory at Durham, then an obscure village, which rapidly developed into the leading trading and manufacturing center for that section of the state. It was not until 1890 that Granville secured its first factory, a textile mill, and this was located well outside the town limits. Ten years later another mill was built at the same place around which grew a mill community known as West Granville, but having no part socially or politically in the town proper.

This conservative attitude that prevailed in the town compelled many of the more enterprising people to migrate to more favorable localities. This migration consisted first of the young people, who were forced to go out into the wider world in order to earn a living. Gradually this exodus increased in volume until it reached its height at the opening of the present century. At the present time only five of the old aristocratic families have any representatives remaining at Granville. As these older families moved away to larger cities, the country people moved in to take their places. So completely has this change in type of population been carried out that the town's present population of about 900 is composed almost entirely of people from the surrounding territory whose families in the earlier days had no claims either to social distinction or to wealth. These "new bloods" now largely have control of most phases of town life, although they still look up to the few surviving "aristocrats." The business establishments, which include four or five general stores, two banks, a hardware store, a couple of garages, two drug stores, a movie house, a dry goods store, a market and a few other places of trade of a minor nature, are all in the hands of these newcomers

with the exception of the bank. Even the professional men, with one or two exceptions, come from the ranks of the later residents. The representatives of the old families for the most part occupy prominent positions in the management of the textile mills located in West Granville.

Attempts at Progress. In spite of the strong tradition of conservatism characteristic of the town, some progressive steps have been taken during the past twenty years. Sidewalks were constructed by the town in 1908. Electric lights were installed by a private company in 1916. An adequate telephone system has been in successful operation for many years. As yet there is no town system of water or sewerage. Two years ago, when the new concrete state highway passed through the town on a different route from the one desired by the local people, the town authorities constructed a mile of similar concrete roadway connecting the business section with the railway station. When the Federal Government refused a few years ago to appropriate money for a new postoffice of the type desired by the town people, the latter went ahead and constructed a very creditable building of their own which now houses the postoffice on the main floor and offices upstairs. The present high school building is ample in size and is well equipped. A small but well-selected public library has been in existence since 1900. It is operated by volunteer workers and financed by a library association whose members include practically all the leading people of the town.

It might be supposed that these improvements were due to the efforts of the newcomers who had supplanted the old families. But such was not the case. The descendants of the men who had refused to permit the Dukes to build their factories there have been the leaders

in securing improvements for the town. For example, the agitation for sidewalks in 1908 was entirely due to the members of the older families. This question was made an issue in the campaign for mayor, the Republican candidate being definitely opposed to sidewalks, while the Democrat running for office was pledged to support this improvement. Just before the election, so the story goes, the Democrats realized that their chances of winning were not at all good unless drastic steps were taken. Contrary to all precedent, they hurried obliging Negroes to the polls whose unexpected votes carried the election for the Democrats by a small margin.

Conflicting Groups and Interests. Since 1900 the two leading political parties have been nearly equal in strength. Ordinarily the town goes Democratic by a small majority but when a bond issue or other important local question is to be voted upon, partisan feeling runs high and the result of the election is uncertain. On all questions of local improvements the town splits into two fairly well-defined groups, that may be called the progressives and the conservatives. The first group will in general comprise the Democrats, the Presbyterians, the Episcopalians, the better educated people, and the large taxpayers, while in the second group will be found the Republicans, the Baptists, the Methodists, those with meager education, and the small taxpayers.

This does not mean, however, that the various elements in each group are characterized by any large degree of unity. On the contrary, social distinctions of various kinds are regarded as very important and often result in the development of factional spirit. This is particularly noticeable in the religious denominations. The most exclusive stratum of society is composed of the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians. The Methodists form a

group by themselves, as do also the Baptists. Socially, the members of these different churches do not mingle. The local Red Cross chapter had great difficulty in getting the four church groups to unite in their war activities. The chapter organizers were the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians. The Methodists joined in willingly because of the war emergency but the Baptists participated in a very half-hearted manner, many of them openly refusing to take any part at all. It is said that some of the Baptist women protested that they could have nothing to do with an organization which had for its symbol a cross. Apparently they considered the Red Cross a subtle totem of the devil designed to turn every one into a Roman Catholic.

Cleavage Between Town and Mill Village. Important as are these social distinctions within the town itself, the most serious social cleavage is found between the people of the town and those living in the adjacent mill community. The mill workers have their own stores, churches, and school, and few of them are ever seen on the streets of Granville. The Granville people on their part seldom get nearer the mill community than the railroad station, which stands on the boundary between the two places. Within recent years the mill school conducts only the first three grades, which makes it necessary for the older children to go to the town school. This attempt to bring the two groups together has not worked out very satisfactorily because the mill children are not made welcome. The enforcement of school attendance therefore becomes a difficult problem. The unwillingness of the mill people and the town people to mingle together is further seen in the fact that a Methodist church is maintained in both places served by the same pastor. Both churches are small and are only a mile apart, but the

congregations prefer to worship separately. The social distinctions in the two places seem based not on mill work but rather on the fact of residence within the mill community. During the summers some of the school boys in Granville work in the mills without losing their standing in the town. There are also a few people who live within the town limits who work in the mills; they consider themselves the social equals of the people of Granville and regard the other mill workers as outsiders. It must be said, however, that they are somewhat looked down upon by their fellow townsmen.

Granville has its share of Negroes, possibly one-fourth of its population. The race problem never seems to have disturbed the town as the Negroes maintain their "proper" position without any trouble. Granville people often take pride in telling of the good qualities of their Negroes who have inherited to a large degree the servile attitude towards the whites which was so characteristic of slave days. Certainly they seem to be unusually law abiding and have always taken great interest in maintaining a good school. According to the army tests made during the late war, the Granville Negroes had a higher rate of literacy than did the mill workers in the neighboring mill village.

Conclusion. While this account of Granville does not do full justice to all its activities, it does present a picture of a historic town famous in its early days that somehow failed to adjust itself readily to the new situation following the Civil War. It lost its opportunity to become an industrial center and when it did make a bid for factories, chose an industry in which it is customary for the employees to live in a segregated mill village entirely apart from the activities of the town. To-day it is a small county seat barely able to maintain itself as the head-

quarters for the county's business and as the trade center for a backward agricultural district. Without sufficient leadership and initiative to provide such necessary conveniences as water and sewerage systems, it stands little chance of attracting the type of people who might give it something of its former prestige. To those who know something of its past history, it is a picturesque spot full of interesting associations and traditions; to the rest of the world it is merely a dead town, a place to be avoided by the enterprising and ambitious.

CHAPTER XVII

JEFFERSON: TOWN-AND-GOWN CONFLICT

Introductory Note. The tradition of conflict between the college or university and the surrounding town goes back to the earliest history of such groupings of students and teachers. It started perhaps with the righteous wrath of individual citizens at student pranks. It may be found in Chamber of Commerce opposition to wholesale buying or in the demands of Bankers' Associations for institution deposits. When the college is small in proportion to the size of the town, the conflict is minimized and localized to the neighborhood of the school. When the college is larger than the town, the latter is submerged by the sheer weight of the conscious, organized group. It is in those instances where the two are of more nearly equal strength, where a state of equilibrium is more nearly approached, that we have situations requiring a nicety of adjustment. There are hundreds of these town-and-gown communities in this country; there are scores of them in which the two groups are about equal in strength.

So far as the general setting is concerned the subject of this chapter might be any one of many institutions located in the great empire of the central valley. Any one knowing the actual situation in some detail will have little trouble in identifying it; the conflict is so typical that many may think they recognize it. In this State University town, or city as it should be called since it has a population of approximately 10,000, the townspeople considerably outnumber the students. Jefferson, however, has few major interests outside the University and is not

large enough to cause the University to play a subordinate rôle in its social and economic life.

As a community, Jefferson lives a double life. The town is organized on a bipartite plan and all of its activities take place on two relatively dissociated levels of community consciousness. One of these levels is the town and its interests; the other, the University and its interests. All social life is organized on the basis of this fundamental cleavage, and the behavior of every citizen of the community reflects his acceptance of the situation. The conflict which begins on the economic plane is carried on through the cultural and political areas of life. In all of its collective and individual aspects, Jefferson is a town divided against itself. The organization of the town in terms of this conflict pattern is a fact with which every social worker in the community learns to reckon.

Class and Group Lines. Superimposed upon the fundamental division of community life, are many minor forms of conflict, which have to some extent become localized in residence and business areas. The conflict of two generations ago centered about the question of liquor and local option. A large segregated Bohemian area became the localized expression of European mores which existed in defiance of the wishes of University authorities, and still offers a threat in these later Volsteadian days. Scattered throughout the community are many Jewish and Negro families, with their organized life heading up in a tabernacle and an African Methodist church. The latter especially has been the object of much persecution, culminating in an effort to burn the church. The Catholic element is especially numerous and strong, and an active Ku Klux Klan has existed for some time. These minor evidences of community conflict flare up from time to time and then subside.

Two sections of the town where the poorer classes reside have become segregated areas. The railroad tracks, known as "the dead-line," mark off one of these districts. Here are found the chief delinquency problems of the town, and here much of the organized liquor traffic heads up. The more ambitious of the residents of this neighborhood have gradually withdrawn to another part of the town, where with the aid of a local bank and a lumber company, they have made a start toward owning their own homes. With the emergence of this more capable class, the former neighborhood has lost all status in the community. The new neighborhood has assumed a recognized place in the town.

Some of the organized activities within the town seem to enhance this class and neighborhood organization. There are three definitely organized school systems, each extending from the primary grades up through the high school, the public school, the parochial schools, and the University schools. Each of these has its separate nursing service, its Parent-Teachers Association, and extra-curricular activities. Within these organizations, however, other lines of demarcation exist. The school building of a certain ward becomes saturated with neighborhood loyalty and sentiment, and is a factor in local school and city politics. There are two or three flourishing real estate clubs formed for the purpose of building up certain districts. Each of these clubs exaggerates purely local attachments. All of these minor loyalties and expressions of conflict are only superficial layers covering the deeper aspects of the community problem.

Economic Conflict. One of the closest knit groups of townsmen is that of the retail merchants. Although the town population of Jefferson outnumbers the University group, the bulk of the business profit comes from the

students and faculty members, through whose purchasing ability money from the whole state flows into the tradesmen's pockets. The Retail Merchants' Association watches jealously any efforts on the part of the student body or of the University to control these profits by any form of coöperative buying. They endeavor, by means of a license, to keep city salesmen from selling their goods in fraternity houses and to prevent Uniontown merchants, only an hour away by train, from advertising in local papers. Only this year, the job printing offices of the town threatened the appropriations of the University if the students' paper entered their field. They felt confident of their success because a similar threat by another group of business men was effectual three years ago. Although they exploit the University, they resent its domination of the town. In this layer of business men, the economic motive appears in its baldest form.

Scarcely less apparent is it, however, in the professional group. Here the non-faculty dentists in the town resent the added prestige that the members of the University staff carry over into their private practice, and the local physicians oppose with a hospital of their own the huge University hospital with its free clinics. More especially do both groups resent the Student Health Department, with its service fee included in the charge for tuition. In this class, also, are found the professional men, lawyers, dentists, and other doctors, who once were members of the University staff, but whose connection has been severed through a change of policy. Secretly, common cause against the University is made by all these individuals; outwardly, they appear to be loyal supporters of the University.

Added to these foregoing classes are groups of varying importance throughout the town. The police reserve a

certain type of discipline for University students, and even the churches resent the way their pews are filled by the student members and deprecate the activities of the student pastors. A certain part of the town has been so filled up with University families that the townspeople are prejudiced against it. A certain distinction is always kept between the old Jefferson families and those of the University, no matter how long they have been residents of the town. Local University alumni, owing allegiance to both factions, are the most uncertain group of all, throwing the balance first on one side, now on the other. Dependent upon the University for its economic base, entertained by its lecture courses, and amused by its football games, the town feeds out of the hand of the State and scorns the hand that feeds it.

There is only one class in Jefferson which is not keenly conscious of this rivalry. To the laboring class, the University exists only in its industrial aspects as their main source of employment. A canning factory of limited capacity, a small packing-plant, and a produce-company represent the little advance that the community has made in industrial development. The greater number of the laboring men find employment at the University as janitors, teamsters, painters, cleaners, and in construction work. It is for "the State" rather than the University that they work, and a peculiar, slow gait that some of these workmen affect is popularly known as "the State walk."

With an expanding building-program, however, the University is becoming relatively independent of local labor supply. More and more, imported contract labor is being used, the claims of local merchants and business men neglected. The University does the buying for its huge hospitals and cafeterias, and some of its Student

Union features are run in direct opposition to the older vested interests of the town. It extends its services to include the buying for fraternity and sorority groups, as well, while the increasing dormitory accommodations is taking away a source of revenue from the general householder in Jefferson, as well as operating to decrease room-rents. All of these groups are united now by a common grievance.

Unifying Forces. During the war period, however, this fundamental attitude of conflict and jealousy was overlaid by the more immediate necessity of mobilization for Liberty Loans. Influenza nursing and war camp community service for the soldier preparatory school into which the University was turned served to strengthen a new-found solidarity. Town and gown alike took common counsel, and leaders emerged irrespective of their local affiliations. The Red Cross was the organization of the hour. Had it been organized on lines of social rather than of financial leadership, Jefferson might have risen to new heights of community unanimity, but the vision was lacking and the Red Cross has suffered a steadily diminishing program. Except for the stubborn resistance of one individual and a plethoric bank account, it would have been absorbed long ago by other community agencies. Such an opportunity to weld the community together may never occur again.

Like any other town of its size, Jefferson has innumerable clubs and social groups. Besides the churches, the fraternal orders, and the forty or fifty sororities and fraternities, all cutting across town and school boundaries, there are several organizations that are city-wide in their membership. In the Chamber of Commerce, the University and Country Clubs, the Woman's Club, the Business and Professional Women's Club, the Rotary, Lions', and

Kiwanis Clubs, most of the strength of the community is represented. In these groups the town-university complex seems less operative than anywhere else in the town. They at least break down the categorical approach. They need both classes to make their own organizations effective, and in their fight for existence they can suffer no inward disorganization. And so, in spite of their particularistic organization, there is, in these groups, a nucleus for community coöperation. Nevertheless, with all of these groups looking for a community job, the task of correlating their vagrant impulses demands much skill and continued effort.

One community social work organization in the town has succeeded in capturing the loyalty of the people to a certain extent, although in support of a rather narrow program, that of organized relief; and yet no one would assert that the Associated Charities is conspicuously successful, especially in a financial way. It has, however, by doing its work quietly and inconspicuously, and refusing to recognize openly, at least, the duality of interests in the community, been able to use both factors in the situation in support of its own program. Historically, the organization is twenty years old. It was created by the advice of a sociologist on the University staff, as a case conference to divide the charitable efforts of the community into functional boundaries, and to manage the outdoor relief dispensed by the local overseer of the poor. In 1919, this local group joined with the County Commissioners in a combined plan for relief, similar to the Iowa plan, under the administration of a trained secretary, and another element was added to the already complex community situation, the political aspect. The old board, representative of the charitable efforts of the town, was kept on in rather attenuated form, but representatives of

other organizations and elective members were added as well as certain official persons, the only excuse for such an unwieldy board being the necessity for assimilating these different factions in the community. And for six years the plan has worked well. The three gear-shifts, the county, the town, and the University, so far have operated smoothly. Crises of many sorts have eventuated, been met, a policy decided, and dismissed. True, the Welfare Council still has an annual tag-day, and the Sunday schools must have special attention at Christmas-time to keep their basket-giving proclivities within reason; the city had to be induced to take over the nursing service, formerly a function of the Associated Charities; a working relationship with the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A., the Boy and Girl Scouts, and the Chamber of Commerce had to be tolerated until a Welfare Council could be formed; and then, always, there was the biennial election of the county commissioners to be reckoned with, and the possibility of the plan being wrecked on the public side. But the political affiliations of the private board, and its advantages as a vote-getting machine allow the plan to continue in spite of these conflicting attitudes in the community.

Certain outstanding personalities, as well, add an element of interest. The president of the local Red Cross chapter was added to the board of the Associated Charities in a prominent capacity; the leading Elk in town also found a place there; the different charitable women of the community, long identified with the private charitable forces of the town, were allowed to expend their energies in the general case conference; a University professor is glad to head up the Community Chest campaign, and the local probation-officer, jealous of her perquisites, was used as a special adviser on cases. An administrative officer

of the University is the president of the Associated Charities, and the vice-president, a representative of one of the oldest families in Jefferson, is his most loyal ally. With their joint approval and that of the board, the students in some of the sociology classes in the University are allowed to do observational work on the local field, and every year the senior visitor in the Charities is a girl chosen because of promise in social work and subsidized through a graduate fellowship. Both the county and city doctors, through the mediation of the Associated Charities, coöperate with the University Hospitals.

The Associated Charities seems to have made the most extensive and the most successful attempt to organize the entire community, and has captured, to a certain extent, the loyalty of the different elements. It is true that because of these underlying cleavages its position is rather insecure, and whether it could survive a crucial test remains to be seen, but on its board it has united the Bohemian, the Jew, the Catholic, the professional man, the charitable woman, and the University professor. It directs, however, only the social work phase of community welfare.

Although there is no permanent healing of the fundamental division in community life, yet for the functioning of this one agency, it is relatively non-existent. If it is possible to accomplish this fusion of interest in a comparatively narrow sphere of community activity, a person skilled in the technique of community organization might be able to create the same effect on a wider basis. It may be that the very indirectness of the approach of the Associated Charities was a factor in its success. Perhaps the still, small voice of charity is more insinuating than a rational appeal to organize.

Conclusion. Jefferson as an experiment in community

organization is fundamentally a study in conflict. For historical reasons, a split exists in community consciousness, and is deepened each year with the horde of students who pour in, a dynamic, young, radical group, injected into a sleepy, conservative, old town. With their coming, the stability of life is menaced. The faculty and students feel superior to the townspeople, and their attitude is resented. The town retaliates in the only way it can, the method of economic exploitation. The inevitable result of this situation is a lack of unity and coöperation which hinders the effective solution of community problems.

CHAPTER XVIII

CLARKSVILLE: DISUNITY IN A MINING TOWN

Introductory Note. An isolated mining town with the heterogeneous population which it frequently attracts is usually a fertile field for the development of disorganizing forces. Such a place under frontier conditions tends to be more or less lawless, and the institutions ordinarily thought necessary for the guidance and control of community life are established very slowly. Later when life and property have been made more secure, the disorganization characteristic of frontier conditions gradually disappears and the town struggles to make its structure and social organization conform to the standards set up by other communities. This process of adjustment becomes exceedingly difficult if economic conditions stimulate rapid growth. The different types and nationalities that flock into the community cause a heavy strain on the new institutions which they are not well equipped to bear. The result is likely to be further disorganization less crude than that prevalent during pioneer days, but none the less disadvantageous to the community and hard to overcome.

In Clarksville, frontier conditions quickly merged into a rapidly expanding situation that demanded progress in institutional development and social organization. The economic prosperity that accompanied the opening of the coal mines furnished sufficient resources for community development, but the heterogeneous nature of the population made difficult any social planning or the promotion

of a well-rounded community program. If the mining company had been interested in civic affairs, it might have furnished the leadership required to handle the situation in a more effective manner But even with this paternalistic control, there is no assurance that the proper degree of unity would have been attained. The disunity of this mining town, in its more essential aspects, resembles that found in countless other communities and seems to be more or less inevitable under modern conditions.

The Town and Its Setting. Clarksville is an old town, as towns go in Montana, for even the census of 1890 shows that it was incorporated and had then a population of 620 people. It had its beginning as a cattle town during the western pioneer period and is located in the heart of the Rockies, with snowcapped peaks towering above it on three sides. Roads running down the Rock River valley to Billings fifty miles away form its chief means of contact with the outside world. Across the mountains to the west and north there are no roads except mountain trails leading to vacation resorts, hunting lodges, and fishing streams in that vast undeveloped playground. During the early period of settlement it gradually gathered together a motley assortment of people,—cattlemen, prospectors, adventurers, and other types inclined to seek their fortune in a frontier town. Saloons and gambling dens did a thriving business, especially when the cowboys from the near-by ranches came to town to spend their monthly wages. On its streets could always be seen many prospectors who made this town their headquarters while exploring the surrounding hills for valuable minerals. In a much less exciting but equally precarious way, a few families located just outside the town limits endeavored to secure a living by cultivating the soil in spite of the inadequate rainfall.

About 1890 coal was discovered and many little companies were formed to mine it. As soon as it became apparent that the coal supply was practically unlimited, the small mines were bought up by the Great Northern Development Company and mining launched on a much more extensive scale. The influx of foreigners already begun was accelerated. By 1910 Clarksville had reached its maximum population of about 6,000, a polyglot mixture from many states in America and various countries in southern and eastern Europe. The foreigners for the most part found employment as miners, while the Americans continued the development of their farms and ranches which gave them greater freedom and satisfaction.

With the Great Northern Development Company giving employment to 900 people the town entered upon a period of prosperity. Streets were paved, electric lights installed, a water supply secured, and modern buildings erected. After a successful strike by the miners, higher wages were paid which made possible a much better standard of living. Unfortunately this prosperity was not shared by the farmers and ranchmen living in the surrounding territory. Efforts to supplement the meager rainfall by means of irrigation failed and it was soon seen that farming could not be conducted in a profitable manner. When the bottom finally dropped out of the cattle market, hard times faced the American element that had sought to build up their fortunes in the open country. Much discouraged, many of the farmers and cattlemen moved into town and secured jobs as miners. This work was uncongenial to them and they especially disliked being compelled to work under foreign bosses. This economic competition between the native Americans and the experienced miners of foreign extraction brought

about much bitter feeling which has shown little tendency to disappear during recent years.

Evidences of Disorganization. Fifteen years ago the Congregational church undertook to unite the churches in a program of recreation for the young people. The four other churches in the town, the Catholic, Finnish, Episcopal, and Methodist, immediately rose up in arms for they were unwilling to join in any movement which their minister or priest did not direct. The minister of the Congregational church, nothing daunted, persisted in his efforts to establish a community center and finally with the aid of several organizations equipped a playground which soon attained great popularity. But the Sunday night Forum, conducted also by this enterprising minister, did not turn out so successfully. His plan of having the leading citizens discuss local civic problems ran afoul of the dominant political and financial interests. Without freedom of speech the Forum proved to be a failure and reluctantly it was discontinued. His whole scheme of community improvement was finally wrecked by his including dancing in the recreational program for the young people. Dances held in public halls where the associations and the surroundings were not of the best were not objected to, but the idea of dances sponsored by the church did not meet with the approval of the people.

The Chamber of Commerce then tried to get the town to unite in support of a Y. M. C. A. which would be equipped with a club building for boys and men, and a swimming pool for all. The Catholics opposed the plan because they could not participate in its management. The Finns were not interested because they maintained their own steam bath house. Nevertheless the plan made a strong appeal and found many supporters. In the end it had to be abandoned because the leader could not unite

the different elements in the community and secure the needed financial support.

The nation-wide interest in consolidated schools stimulated the people of Clarksville to improve their own poorly equipped school system. In a campaign backed by the business men's organizations, bonds were voted to build a county high school building in Clarksville, the concentration of votes in the county seat being sufficient to carry it over the opposition of the other towns in the county. The county high school was built but it is county in name only for it is not attended by children outside of Clarksville. The condition of the roads during the winter makes travel both difficult and dangerous, and besides the people throughout the county feel unwilling to trust their children to the wicked ways of a mining town. As for Clarksville, this new school which was secured in this high-handed way, has turned out to be a source of dissension and conflict among themselves. The superintendent and the athletic coach, one a standpatter and the other a progressive, have developed a personal feud in which the townspeople line up in support of one side or the other and do everything possible to gain their ends. Because the coach taught manual training, the superintendent discontinued that subject as well as domestic science although training of this kind seemed highly desirable and was popular with the children. The superintendent has a firm hold on the president of the school board because of their joint membership in the Ku Klux Klan. Catholic teachers are not employed. The history teacher is watched by the Klan lest she throw an unfavorable light upon them. The economics teacher must be careful not to say anything that would reflect upon the policies of the Great Northern Development

Company. Teaching in Clarksville is a hazardous occupation.

To the summer visitor spending a few days in Clarksville on his way to his mountain resort, the town seems wide awake and progressive. Organizations of various kinds have been established and receive hearty support. The town takes great pride in its Chamber of Commerce, Elks' Club, Inquiry Club, Little Theatre, and American Legion. In addition there are the Masons, Ku Klux Klan, Red Cross, Rod and Gun Club, Women's clubs, American Association of University Women, Parent-Teachers Association, Farm Bureau, Protestant and Catholic church societies, bridge clubs, and various organizations within each foreign group. Yet with all this effort to gain efficiency and add interest to life through organization, there is no public health work worthy of the name. No juvenile court has been provided although the marked trend toward delinquency has been disturbing. In spite of the fact that two-thirds of the townspeople are of foreign extraction, there is no program designed to facilitate assimilation or promote goodwill among the different nationalities. The Red Cross is the only social work organization and it has neither a trained worker nor even funds to provide relief to families in time of emergency. The Development Company is in the town but not of it. Its management feels that enough has been done when the prevailing rate of wages has been paid. After a day's work the miners are given a bath and turned out to house themselves as they can, amuse themselves as they wish, and contribute to the life of the community as they may. Whether its foreign employees become Americanized or not is no concern of the Company. No part of its large profits is used to support community projects for civic betterment. Black smoke pours down on the town from

half a dozen smoke stacks, and everybody says the mining company should be compelled to use smoke consumers, but they hesitate to demand anything from the town's "bulwark of prosperity." While the churches have well-equipped buildings and their services are usually well attended, a great share of their energy is spent in the controversy between fundamentalism and modernism, or in conflict between Catholics and Protestants. Prostitution, gambling, and bootlegging go forward unhindered by any organized effort on the part of the people to enforce law and order. The position of county attorney was held by a half breed Indian whose inefficiency and corruption caused him to lose most of his cases against those charged with crime. His chief political opponent has been a woman lawyer of far greater ability and training than the other local members of this profession. In her several campaigns for the office of county attorney, she could always count upon the opposition of those who think that women should stay out of politics. When she finally did succeed in gaining this position, her efforts to prosecute the criminal element were hampered on every hand.

A year ago one of the mines was closed down and many men were thrown out of work. Families moved away, business places failed, and the town faced a period of hard times. In this crisis it was suggested that the town should try to attract tourists by advertising their summer resorts and that an attempt should be made to secure a federal highway through the town to Yellowstone Park. At this time when leadership was needed, none was forthcoming adequate to deal with the situation. The organizations which had never become accustomed to working together, could not attain sufficient unity of purpose to plan wisely for the future of the community.

CHAPTER XIX

PENTON: INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND RETARDATION

Introductory Note. During the period of industrial expansion that followed the Civil War, many towns and small cities in the northern and eastern section of this country experienced a phenomenal growth. Some of those most advantageously situated were within a few decades transformed from provincial places to industrial centers of first importance. This unprecedented urban growth with the vastly increased opportunities for wealth that accompanied it, stirred the imagination of even remote village dwellers and filled all with the desire to share in this economic progress. Not all towns, however, were able to win out in this struggle for expansion. Some, badly handicapped from the start by poor location, inadequate transportation, and other factors, still remain unimportant towns little larger than they were fifty years ago. Others held their own in this competitive struggle for years only to find themselves later far outdistanced by neighboring rivals. Our country is dotted with small cities of about ten thousand population, that once gave promise of industrial development that has not been fulfilled.

The story that is told in this chapter presents a picture of a small city of the middle west in the heart of the great industrial belt where now are located more than half a score of industrial centers of large size and wealth. It was originally a pioneer settlement securely established long before the rise of the recent urban movement. Its

founders were people of hardy stock, whose qualities of thrift and industry enabled them to conquer the wilderness in which their lot was cast. Very early in its history small industries were established and its people thereby gained experience and built up attitudes that favored its further development along industrial lines. Raw materials of coal and iron were mined near by and the main line of a railroad provided means of shipment of their products to the outside world. Manufacturing plants of real importance were built and its inhabitants during the closing years of last century believed that the future growth of their city was fully assured.

The period of financial disaster and disorganization that followed this era of prosperity broke down the morale of the people and definitely retarded further industrial development. Many people began to move away and money could not be secured for investment in local enterprises. A much more detailed analysis than is attempted here would be required to explain all the factors that led to these changed conditions. This story merely points out the fact of this retarded growth and briefly describes the present situation. It is significant because the story of Penton is typical of the lot of many other towns similarly located.

Period of Founding and Early Growth. A little more than a century and a quarter ago, hardy pioneers looking for well-drained and yet well-watered spots for home and mill sites discovered the rather elevated and rolling land in an attractive section of eastern Ohio where later was established the town of Penton. It is not likely that the first settlers in this part of the country took up land directly on the site of the future town, but as early as 1800, two or three men had chosen the spot for their homes and had built their log cabins there.

The first few families came from Virginia, and these were followed almost immediately by others from Maryland, eastern Pennsylvania, and southwestern New Jersey. Nearly all of these were members of the Society of Friends, more commonly known as Quakers. The new settlement was named Penton in memory of an old Quaker town across the mountains in New Jersey. By 1806 enough families had come in to warrant the laying out of the place as a town site. By 1808 it had grown large enough to possess a brick meeting house, a grist mill, two saw mills and a few such enterprises as saddlery shops, and small stores. While the rate of growth was slow by modern standards, the whole state at that time was sparsely settled, and the hard journey over the mountains prevented the rapid opening of this frontier territory. In quality of population, however, the new town was laying a solid foundation for its first settlers. Early Quakers were thrifty and industrious and full of hope for its future development.

Thus we see a slow but substantial increase in the population, both in and near the new town. Land was being cleared and each year larger crops and more cattle were raised. Things prospered in a quiet way, and it soon became apparent that there was need for provision to utilize the extra wool and hides produced in that vicinity. In due time two or three woolen mills and a couple of tanneries were established and the town began to take on the industrial aspect that has characterized it during all its later history.

Newcomers were welcomed regardless of their religious beliefs, and tolerance and good will characterized the entire community. During those pioneer years all were content to worship with their peaceful Quaker neighbors in the only sort of church for miles around. It was not

until about 1820 that other churches were built in the community. The Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians were the first congregations to be organized and for many years shared peaceably with the Friends the responsibility of developing the religious interests of the people. Just prior to the Civil War there was a sufficient influx of Catholics, Episcopalians, and Lutherans to justify the building of separate churches for their use. However diverse these various religious bodies, we have no record of religious friction being a serious disorganizing force in Penton. The only religious disagreement of any consequence was a split in the Society of Friends caused by difference of opinion about church policy. Even this fight was carried on so amicably that both parties continued to use the old meeting house alternately until one faction was able to erect a building of its own. Two of the town's largest business blocks, standing side by side to-day, bear the names of Johnson and Alexander, in memory of the leaders of this historic controversy.

For many years all the children attended the Friends' school that was established almost as early as the building of the first cabins. One of the first teachers of this school was so satisfactory that he held his position for thirty years. The accommodations and equipment of this old private school were crude and simple, in striking contrast to the more elaborate provisions of to-day. In spite of its primitive setting, however, it developed the intellectual interests of the people and very early in the century the more prosperous families had contributed books for a semi-public library.

With the coming in of larger numbers of people there arose a demand for more school accommodations than the old school could well provide. To meet this need a new school was set up by two capable women. Later a small

academy was founded, followed a few years later by a boarding school, both of which made available to the children of the town and surrounding country the beginnings of higher education. Public schools were not founded prior to the early fifties. From that time forward they received the backing of the people and the prestige of the private schools gradually diminished until they played only a minor rôle in the community.

As the town grew in size, the demand for a public stopping place for travelers led to the building of a tavern. This place dispensed both solid and liquid cheer. The latter was not condemned in moderation, but the temptation to drink to excess was known even among the Quakers, and the place was a cause of more or less concern to many. Penton hotels have never seemed to recover entirely from the example set by this first tavern and still find it difficult to adjust themselves to the requirements of Volsteadian days.

Life on the whole was not very exciting during those early days. The fair dealings of the Quakers with the Indians prevented any outbreaks with the tribes living in that vicinity. As far as recreation was concerned, the early inhabitants did not approve of "places of diversion" and so discouraged gambling resorts and the rougher types of amusements. There was, however, no lack of neighborly sociability in the form of husking bees, apple paring parties, barn raisings, and family gatherings. The school had its literary exercises that attracted the parents and provided a means of entertainment and friendly intercourse. One may still find in the Friends' school to-day much the same sort of program grown somewhat more sophisticated in this day of automobiles but obviously patterned after the school entertainments of a hundred years ago.

The Anti-Slavery Agitation. With its strong Quaker background it is small wonder that the town became a center of abolitionist agitation and propaganda. For at least twenty years before the Civil War it was the headquarters of "The Western Anti-Slavery Society" as well as home of its outspoken organ, "The Anti-Slavery Bugle." A certain house was dedicated to meetings for the discussion of slavery and was known as "Liberty Hall." Here such ardent advocates as Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison spoke at various times, along with lesser lights whose names were long revered, but are now fading into forgetfulness. There appear to have been very few unsympathetic with the cause of freedom, or at least few bold enough to challenge it openly in this stronghold. Near-by communities often were less enthusiastic in the matter, or even decidedly opposed to what they believed to be the extreme views of some of its advocates. This is not extraordinary, seeing that the "Bugle" went so far, at times, as to tread on ground little short of treasonable in its advocacy of disunion from the slave states, as the only means of avoiding their guilt. There is little evidence that the great majority ever sympathized with such views, as the real leaders in Penton were essentially the patient, law-abiding Quakers who stood for the constitution and law, and opposed extreme measures or violence in any cause, however good its objects might appear. The only notable exception to this rule seems to have been their active part in promoting the escape of slaves via the famous "Underground Railway" of that time.

Penton was long a chief port of call for slaves on their way to freedom. Old inhabitants still recall events of that day and in a few of the older houses there yet can be seen the secret rooms and hidden passages in which many

a cowering fugitive was hidden until the southern searching party had given up and departed. On a few occasions the conductors were caught and tarred and feathered by lawless mobs in neighboring villages.

The stirring events leading up to John Brown's famous raid seem to have swept some of the younger Friends off their feet and made them so far forget the peaceful tenets of their church as to join the raider. One of these men paid the final penalty with his chief at Harpers Ferry. When the war finally broke out a few Friends joined the Union armies, although most held steadfast to their pacifist views in spite of considerable public censure. By this time the population was about equally divided between Quakers and people of other churches, and these latter supplied the town's full quota of fighters. This failure of the Quakers to do their full share in the war does not seem to have brought upon them any great social condemnation, as most people knew their beliefs and respected their sincerity, however much they disagreed with the application of their principles during a time of war.

Industrial Development Prior to the Civil War. From its earliest days the town seems to have been destined to be an industrial center. Both coal and iron were mined within a few miles of the place and led to the founding of small iron works as early as 1830. These later became stove foundries and machine shops. In 1840 four brothers, all of them expert mechanics, founded a small steam engine plant, which became the town's most important industry and flourished for seventy-five years. Two other firms engaged in the manufacture of farm machinery and pumps and began thereby two of the largest industries of the town to-day. Local initiative and local capital were the usual rule in these ventures. The workmen were Americans coming from the same type of

families as their employers and often were their own childhood playmates and friends. Hard work and thrift were honored and labor trouble was unknown. Home ownership was the rule for all.

Ambition did not stop with local opportunity. Wealth had accumulated in a small way, and there was eagerness to employ it in whatever promised to bring a suitable reward. Investors were conservative and so avoided most of the heavy losses that checked the growth of neighboring communities to the south when a large and overambitious freight canal project failed. About this time Pittsburgh men were looking for men and money to build an important railway between that city and Chicago. Leaders in Penton came forward with both and played an active part in securing a right of way through their own town and in sharing the profits of building the new road. They also supplied several of the company's officials, and obtained preferential treatment for their town, that materially helped its industrial development. The artistic stone railway depot of Penton—long unrivaled for beauty between Pittsburgh and Chicago—was a proud memorial to the local men who had helped build this link in the Pennsylvania system.

Some years later, to the great disappointment of the people of Penton, the railroad management inaugurated a new policy which threatened to abolish the special concessions long enjoyed by the town. So seriously was it felt that this would endanger local prosperity that the town council resolved on a bold stroke, and built a railway line of its own, to connect with the competing Erie Railroad some twenty miles away. This Penton Railroad never seriously threatened the existence of the Pennsylvania line, but did accomplish its object in winning back the old concessions. It was never very profitable in itself

and in due course was sold to the Erie Railroad and later by them to an interurban company, which to-day maintains both steam freight and electric passenger service over the old line.

With the opening of the new railway line industry began to grow more rapidly and set the stage for the great expansion of the Civil War period and later years. The demand for labor outran the local supply and drew the first large numbers of Irish and German immigrants. The coming of these foreigners greatly modified the customs and traditions of the community. A Catholic church was built, and local politics became more complicated. Previously, intemperance had been kept well in hand, as the whole Quaker tradition opposed the excessive use of liquors. From now on, this was to be more or less of a political issue and led to serious struggles at a later date. Poverty as a problem did not emerge in any large way, as there was ample work to keep all employed most of the time. Every man had his own home and large garden which supplemented the family food supply and materially reduced the cost of living. Even to-day such gardens are so much the rule that truck gardening never has flourished in the surrounding districts to the extent that is usual about steel towns.

Throughout its history the Quaker town had preserved its founders' ideals of independence and devotion to industry and economy. This large German element that came prior to the Civil War fell easily in with the current traditions of hard work and thrift and won the good will of the people. In spite of the fact that the Germans retained their own language and kept up many of their customs brought from the old country, they were regarded as most desirable citizens. Even the hysteria of the last European war was not able to ruffle the calm of the

Quaker town, nor to create the vicious anti-German feeling that characterized many American cities.

Post-war Industrial Expansion. Penton with its well-established iron and steel industries, was well prepared to contribute to the supply of war materials at the outbreak of hostilities between the North and the South. Even with the loss of many of its young men, it managed to thrive on war contracts. Its population actually doubled between 1860 and 1870. Its old mills and shops were enlarged and new ones were founded, and the town became a hive of industry. Its one old state bank took out a charter under the new law of 1862 and became a national bank. A new bank was founded under this law and prospered from the start. Both were depositories for large sums of Federal money. Later one or two savings banks were established, but seem to have had a rather checkered history. Only in recent years was a strong savings and trust company established.

The half century following the war was one of almost uninterrupted although not spectacular growth. Population increased steadily. Industry expanded and many new enterprises were begun. The town remained chiefly a center for iron and steel manufacture, adding to its old lines, tool works, new foundries, sheet metal and stamping works, boat works, organ works and more machine shops. A large brewery added materially to the problem of keeping the town sober. The usual flour mills and planing mills were built. One of the first electric street railways west of the mountains was established and operated until bus service put it out of business. Two interurban lines were built largely by local capital and engineering, with their terminals in Penton.

One of the outstanding developments, from the point of view of its effect on later events, was the founding in

Penton of the first successful wire nail mill to be built in the United States. The process was brought over by one of the German immigrants and recognized as having merit by local business men. The new project prospered amazingly and soon bought out a less successful rival and attracted the attention of the new steel and wire trust. Although the company was founded in 1885, it had grown so large by 1898 that the trust decided it was better to buy it out than to fight it. As a result, the local company was taken over by the trust, with its German founder being given a good position in the large corporation, and local stockholders receiving an almost unheard of profit on their holdings. The nail mill still grows and gives employment to a large number of people, it being less affected by business depression than most local industries. Its chief effect, however, was the tremendous increase in confidence and in the desire to make easy money as had the promoters of the nail mill. Results of this overconfidence became evident a few years later.

Civic Progress. Meanwhile the town was not neglecting its intellectual and social interests. Previous to the Civil War there had been a number of attempts to start and maintain local weekly papers, most of which had a short and sad history. In 1842, however, a paper was established that lived through various reorganizations but never lost its continuity and remains to-day the town's largest and most influential daily. In 1872 a weekly was begun that survives, as does another rival daily which was established in 1890. The town has also long been a center for the publication of professional and trade papers. For many years the "Ohio Educational Monthly" was edited and printed in Penton. Two of the superintendents of the local schools became sufficiently prominent to be appointed state commissioners of public instruction. The

intellectual interests of the people made possible the development of prominent leaders who won influential positions in the outside world.

With the marked industrial prosperity of the period there grew up a sense of pride in the town and a desire that it should be well equipped with civic and social organizations. A Young Men's Christian Association was established and flourished for a time, but never gained a permanent place in the people's affection. In other lines there was greater success. A large Carnegie library grew out of a small but interested library association, under the leadership of the town's more progressive women. A hospital was felt to be a pressing need. The community generously supported a drive for funds and established an unusually well-equipped city hospital for a place of its size. This project has never been allowed to suffer at any time. Medical men united to build it and stood solidly behind it for many years. Only since the period of depression has interprofessional jealousy developed and divided the support of the town to a small extent.

The city acquired its waterworks, built and improved its paved streets, opened a large memorial park and generally encouraged the spirit of civic enterprise and loyalty. Optimism was the order of the day. In 1906 it celebrated its one hundredth anniversary with a great homecoming centennial that was a credit to the town's ability to organize and see through a community project. Population had reached approximately ten thousand, and every one predicted a great future for the Quaker city.

Period of Industrial and Social Depression. Following almost immediately upon this culmination of civic progress came the panic of 1907. The shock was felt severely by industrial concerns, but was as nothing to the series of financial disasters that were destined to come in

quick succession and shake the town to its foundations. While this industrial breakdown seemed to strike the town suddenly those with ability to read the signs of the times were not unaware of the rapidly-changing conditions to which the industrial leaders were failing to make the needed adjustments.

With the shift in immigration from northwestern to southeastern Europe, the laborers who drifted into the steel districts became more and more illiterate and difficult to assimilate. These newcomers understood little of American customs and cared little for many of the more conservative institutions and conventions. The temptation to exploit these men became the rule of action. Employers no longer knew their workmen as old associates and friends. The neighborly human touch and sympathy were lost as numbers grew and types changed. As a natural result, labor organizers came to help the men build Unions for their own protection. Manufacturers, dominated by habits of thinking acquired under the old conditions, felt that unionization was an unwarranted attack upon their long accepted rights. The stabilizing force of home ownership lost its former influence, because the new type of laborers did not readily buy property and regard the town as their permanent home. At the same time the issue of local option began to divide the town into hostile camps. Neither side listened to reason. This gave unscrupulous politicians the opening they desired, and it was easy to play on class prejudice and intolerance. The city government lost its reputation for efficiency and honesty and fell into the hands of designing men. Taxes leaped into unheard-of figures. Industry was thereby handicapped and became decreasingly profitable.

The old town still was comparatively wealthy, but many

of the older men had retired or died and left business in the hands of less capable children. Investors became dissatisfied with the returns from the old manufacturing plants and began to look about for something more profitable. About this time outside promoters interested local people in three projects that gave promise of bringing back the prosperity of former years.

One of the new enterprises was a large coöperative flour mill. The need for it was genuine enough and its future looked certain and rosy. Unfortunately it was doomed from the start by incompetent management and personal jealousy. It failed almost before it was well begun, and swept away the hard-earned savings of many a family.

Along with the foregoing came the establishment of a new cash register company which planned to use valuable patents that it was believed would revolutionize this business. There seem to have been merits in its case quite as well as in that of the flour mill. One thing only had been overlooked, and that was the great power of its older and more strongly entrenched competitors. The new company had to fight a series of patent suits almost as soon as it began to operate. Its capital was tied up in its plant with few other resources to tide it over this crisis. The long drawn out and expensive litigation finally resulted in favor of the new company, but not until it had become so deeply involved financially because of the long delay that it failed, thus bringing ruin to many more local people.

The soundest project of all was a sanitary ware company, using a new and highly-efficient process of enameling, discovered by its promoter. The new plant was built and prospered from the beginning. In this case, the trust which controlled this field compromised by admitting the company to its fold, without buying it out. Unluckily this

happened just before a government anti-trust suit, which tied up the local company and strained its resources to the breaking point. Even so it might have pulled through had not some outside capitalists, who controlled a part interest, managed to work things to their own advantage by causing the company to go into a receivership and then buying it out at a fraction of its value. Again local people lost tens of thousands of dollars. Later, this manufacturing plant, which has reorganized under outside control, has been immensely profitable and has grown rapidly. To-day it is one of the few local industries that supplies employment for the town's large working-class population.

The last of this series of disasters occurred when the town's largest and most important company, the steam and gas engine works, became involved in a stubborn strike of its union molders. Neither side would compromise and before an agreement could be reached the company was wrecked and the molders were left without employment.

The shock of these events, coming close on the heels of each other, gave the town a staggering blow. Population became stationary. Depression, unemployment and stagnation ruled like vultures over the sick city. What the final result might have been can never be told, as the late war came along in time to check the downward plunge for a time, and seemed to restore something of the old prosperity. But even war profits were powerless to restore the former spirit of confidence and rebuild the broken fortunes. With the post-war slump, gloom again settled over the town and its industrial rehabilitation has not yet been brought about. During this period of discouragement since the war, one evidence of civic enterprise stands out, which gives some hope for the future. The local Red Cross chapter, which had done good service

during the war, secured the use of a large old residence as a community center and endeavored to develop a permanent community program of health and recreational work. When public interest lagged after the big business slump, a wealthy manufacturer of automobile parts came to the rescue by giving the town a war memorial community building, well fitted to serve as the center for all community service activities. This building, while not most conveniently located, is well equipped and provides good quarters for the Red Cross, public health service, Boy Scouts and other similar organizations.

The significance of this new community enterprise becomes apparent when it is realized that Penton has always, except during the period of greatest prosperity, been dominated by a spirit of individualism which has stood in the way of coöperative undertakings. Perhaps out of its recent industrial misfortunes may come forth a new civic spirit strong enough to begin a new era of industrial progress. Some of its young people have moved away to secure more attractive opportunities but many others are left to supply leadership for the future.

In addition there remains the fine old tradition of liberality of spirit and of welcome to new ideas and better ways of doing things. As a new generation grows up and learns the lessons taught by the disasters of the recent past, the people may coöperate more readily for the promotion of community welfare and civic advance. Moreover, Penton still has a good system of public schools, strong churches animated by no narrow interpretation of their social responsibilities, and a substantial amount of wealth in the hands of forward-looking business men. It still occupies a position of central importance as a market for the rich agricultural district of that part of the state. It retains not only its fine railway connections, but re-

cently has become the intersection of a number of important state roads, including the famous Lincoln Highway. With the growth of good roads, its commercial importance has been materially improved. All that is necessary is for the business men to build up an enduring trade on the basis of fair dealing and liberal values. Quaker traditions of absolute honesty have laid a good foundation for such a business structure.

Nevertheless it is more than likely that its days as a rapidly-growing industrial center have passed, at least until there comes some new development in the steel industry, quite unlike the present tendency of merging different companies into a few large-scale corporations. Possibly the economies of small-scale manufacturing with electric power may aid in a revival of growth. If its future is to be one of stable, moderate prosperity, it may be quite to the ultimate advantage of all concerned. More time and interest may then be given to the development of those social and spiritual resources, so often neglected during the periods of rapid expansion, and yet so necessary to the realization of a more wholesome life for all members of the community. Maybe Penton will again become a pioneer, this time in the field of the finer aspects of social organization, as its founders were pioneers in industrial organization a century ago.

CHAPTER XX

PINEHAVEN: THE DISINTEGRATION OF A RURAL COMMUNITY

Introductory Note. The period of decreasing economic returns in the cotton-growing sections of the South brought about by the appearance of the boll weevil has caused many farming communities to face a serious situation. Some of these communities have by means of diversified farming bridged this crisis successfully, and their people apparently are as prosperous and contented as before. Others have rapidly deteriorated until now they give little evidence of their former prosperity.

The Mississippi community described in this chapter had a long and honorable history in which its people took great pride. Its large and fertile plantations were operated profitably by a sturdy class of white families that had established traditions of thrift and industry. The community's recovery from the hardships of the Civil War was rapid and until the end of last century its plantation families were widely and favorably known for their culture, hospitality, and increasing wealth.

The beginnings of deterioration occurred with the organization of White Caps, who drove all the Negroes from the community, thus depriving the plantations of their accustomed supply of farm labor. The onset of the boll weevil which followed a few years later completed the breakdown of the community. The best families moved away and sought more attractive opportunities elsewhere. The less capable and energetic remained behind and thus

far have been unable to overcome the unfavorable conditions they face. Even to the casual observer the decline of this rural community is clearly apparent in the unkempt plantation buildings, the large amount of good land lying untilled, and the run-down appearance of its church, school, and stores.

Historical Background. Into that section of the old Choctaw Indian district located in the edge of the long leaf pine belt in southern Mississippi there migrated a considerable number of white families during the early part of last century. Some of these settlers came down the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers through the Natchez district, while others traveled overland across the rough country from Alabama and Georgia. For the most part they were people of English and Scotch-Irish stock, descendants of the early pioneers who had established their homes in Virginia and the Carolinas.

This thickly-wooded section of Mississippi with its fertile soil and many springs of fine water proved attractive to these settlers and became the site of their permanent homes. Log cabins were built of logs cut and hewn by hand and small plots of land were cleared and placed under cultivation. The land was productive, wild game was abundant, and the near-by creeks and rivers furnished excellent fishing, which added to their food supply. While great labor was required to clear the land of its heavy growth of timber, the mild climate made possible a long growing season, and the settlers soon found themselves as comfortably situated as was possible under pioneer conditions.

These pioneer families were of sturdy stock, well able to make a successful fight against the hardships of life in the wilderness. Among the first comers were such family names as Cain, Clay, Colton, Anderson, McGehee,

Hunt, Cassidy, all of whom were prominent factors in the later development of Pinehaven community. New people came in from time to time but the essential nature of the community was determined by the original families whose traditions of neighborliness and homogeneity set the standard for later generations.

Early Development. The county in which Pinehaven is located was organized in 1809, about eight years before Mississippi was admitted into the Union. In 1812 the population of the county consisted of 1,260 white people and 735 slaves. Pinehaven itself was at that time nothing more than a rural neighborhood in which lived about twelve families. Due more to large families than to an influx of outsiders, the population increased rapidly. An interesting example of this natural increase is the McGehee family, whose children numbered seven sons and three daughters. All ten of these children survived and married, their offspring numbering ninety-three, only one of whom was physically disabled. Since these marriages were formed with members of the older families of that vicinity, the people were bound still more closely together by ties of blood. As time went on, this McGehee family, which was characterized by industry and ambition, became the dominant force in the community. So prominent did they become that Pinehaven could be thought of in terms of this family with whom all the other white members of the community were related either by blood or marriage.

Economically this community prospered in spite of setbacks in the form of occasional bad crops and low prices. Through hard work the plantations gradually increased in size and the standard of living was raised. The old log houses gave way to well-constructed and comfortable homes built of the finest lumber. As the families pros-

pered, greater attention was paid to education, and pride was taken in sending their children away to school. Slave labor was plentiful, which made possible larger and more productive plantations. Although isolated, this rural community kept pace with the progress made in other places and its leading families became known for their hospitality and social graces characteristic of plantation life in its best days.

The Civil War and Reconstruction. At the outbreak of the Civil War the young men went away to join the Confederate forces. Later, the older men followed them to the front, leaving the management of the plantations in the hands of the women and children. While the community was not in the path of the contending forces, yet its resources were greatly depleted by the four years of war. The men who survived the war found upon their return run-down plantations and unsettled conditions. Prices were so high that it was difficult to purchase even the necessities of life. Fortunately, the carpet-bag rule which disrupted so many sections of the South did not disturb this community. Its isolation in this instance was an advantage for it escaped the evil influence of outside agitators bent on stirring up discontent among the former slaves. The Negroes remained quietly on the plantations and loyally went to work for their former masters, thus making it possible for this community to recover speedily from the effects of the war.

Within a decade after the close of the war, the people of the community had more than regained their former position of economic prosperity. Better farm implements were purchased and their homes were more comfortably furnished. Some of the families enjoyed the luxury of fine horses and carriages. Every plantation could boast of cattle, horses, barns, and well-tilled fields.

The orchards, vegetable gardens, chickens, geese, and hogs, insured for all a plentiful food supply. In addition each family raised enough sugar cane to provide syrup and brown sugar. Corn grew abundantly and furnished plenty of meal, grits, and hominy for each household.

Economic Aspects of the Growing Community. About 1880 Eugene McGehee built a cotton gin, a grist mill, and a sugar cane mill. A little later he constructed also a saw mill, which was a great boon to the community because for the first time lumber was made easily available for the building of new houses. The local general merchandise store which had been established shortly after the war became better stocked with goods and was more and more used for the purchase of small articles and emergency supplies. For the larger purchases, the people made the long trip to Urbana, the nearest railroad town, seventeen miles away, where the cotton was hauled to market. Cotton was the money crop, and the financial affairs of the community were largely regulated by its production and sale. Supplies were usually bought on a credit basis and the debts were settled in the fall when the cotton was sold. Every family made an effort to produce enough cotton to pay debts, taxes, and have some spending money left for the purchase of a few luxuries or for travel.

The postoffice was located at the general store where the people came daily for their mail. While this was a popular meeting place for friends and for gossip, it never became a resort for loafers. Idleness was held in contempt and the spirit of industry was encouraged. When a house was to be built, the neighbors joined in with hearty goodwill, assisting from the time of cutting the trees for lumber until the last shingle was nailed on the roof. Manual labor was regarded as a necessary virtue

and all on the plantation were kept busy making the supplies needed for home use. Each household made its own soap, candles, and brooms. Even after manufactured cloth came into common use for clothing, cotton was carded and spun to provide material for the making of quilts and mattresses. Feathers for beds and pillows were picked from geese. Pork and beef were cured during the winter and stored in the smoke houses for summer use. During the latter part of the eighties, saw mills were built all through this section and the forests rapidly began to disappear. This brought a great deal of additional money into the community but the timber was not carefully cut and this source of wealth was lost for succeeding generations. In all this economic development of the community the Negroes played a subordinate rôle, well content to be employed as laborers by the plantation owners. The Negroes were usually paid by giving them supplies out of the plantation storehouses every Saturday or were handed credit slips for purchases to be made at the local store.

Religious Life and Organization. From the time of the earliest settlement of this community the people have been deeply interested in religious matters. Shortly after the opening of last century, the Missionary Baptists and the Methodists established churches in the county in which Pinehaven is located. Later when this community became more thickly settled, the Mt. Zion Baptist church and the Ebenezer Methodist church were built by their local adherents. These two congregations, located several miles apart, have always been characterized by a remarkable spirit of harmony and coöperation. Since neither church has ever been able to support a full-time pastor, the custom developed of attending services at both churches regardless of where membership was held. Each

church had its own church officers and regular members but the congregation at both churches consisted practically of the same people. When the preacher came on his week-end visits, he would arrive on Friday and visit in the homes until Monday. Two services were held on Sunday with an ample noonday meal served in the churchyard. Dancing, drinking, and cursing in the sight of the church demanded public repentance or dismissal from membership in the church. Seldom were there violations of this moral code for parents brought up their children strictly and all seemed filled with the fear of God.

Each year in August revival meetings were held in each church during two successive weeks. This time was specially appropriate for community gatherings, for the summer crops were laid by and the fall harvesting had not yet begun. All looked forward to this time since it marked one of the high points of the year. The ladies of the community prepared for this occasion far in advance so that there would be no lack of food. Each morning after preparing large baskets of food and dressing numerous children, each family would set out for church. Before eleven o'clock the church grounds would be filled with all sorts of conveyances. As soon as the morning service was over all gathered around long tables under the trees and enjoyed an elaborate meal. This hour of relaxation gave abundant opportunity for visiting together and discussion of local topics of interest such as the crops, the price of cotton, politics, or the doctrinal soundness of the morning sermon. Young people and children wandered back and forth down the hill to the spring. During the afternoon sermon the young folks had a tendency to sit in the buggies or go for a stroll, much to the anxiety of the more pious and conservative old people. This revival season furnished the best opportunity to the

young people for courtship and they were disposed to take full advantage of it. Visitors came from far and near and excitement ran high. The climax came at the end of the revival, when the converts were baptized in the near-by creek by the minister, assisted by his deacons. The whole community participated in the revivals of both churches regardless of where memberships were held. This friendly coöperation in religious matters found expression also in the union Sunday School service held Sunday afternoons in the schoolhouse.

Social Life. Pinehaven became a popular social center which attracted people even from outside the community when special occasions were observed. At the cotton gin a platform was erected for public speaking and here political meetings were held at which candidates for election spoke. From time to time barbecues and picnics brought together to this place large crowds who were not only served refreshments but were entertained by a band hired for the occasion. For a period of three weeks each year a singing school under the direction of a visiting teacher was held and gave opportunity to the young people for both musical instruction and social diversion. Parties held in different homes were also very popular and furnished wholesome recreation for the young people. The spirit of hospitality that prevailed in the homes led to much family visiting. On such visits the whole family usually went en masse and a second and third table were sometimes required to accommodate all the guests. Outside travel was a diversion looked forward to by all and even the poorest people managed to get occasional trips to Jackson and New Orleans.

The School. The first schoolhouse in the community was made of logs and was very crudely furnished. These school facilities were gradually improved and about 1890

a well-organized grade and high school was established. Eugene McGehee gave the land for the school and lumber for the buildings. In addition to the schoolhouse a dormitory was built to furnish living quarters for the teachers and boarding students. While the older members of the community had never enjoyed many educational advantages, they were determined to give their children the best education possible. Interest in higher education increased and more students went away to college than ever before.

Period of Greatest Prosperity. During the last decade of last century, this community reached the highest peak of its development. Crops were good and the people in general were prosperous. Two stores were added to the little village. Telephones were installed in the homes, thus giving better communication with the outside world. More attention was paid to the improvement of roads. A doctor established himself in the community and a full-time pastor was secured for the Mt. Zion Baptist church. Many people traveled and brought back new ideas. Provincial attitudes were no longer so much in evidence and people took pride in keeping pace with the improvements made in other places. Community spirit and family loyalty spurred the people on to their best efforts. In general this community was a very wholesome place in which to live and was much more progressive than most rural districts in that section of the South.

Beginnings of Disorganization. The cloud that first began to cast its shadow over the community about the beginning of the new century was political in nature. For a long while political factions and jealousies had been disturbing forces in the county but the more substantial and capable element had been able to keep the control of the government in its hands. As the end of the

century approached this struggle between the prosperous, law-abiding people and those of a lower social and economic status became more serious. The defeat for the second time of the political leader of the more vicious and shiftless elements in the county made him more determined than ever to secure political control at all costs. Prohibition, which at that time happened to be supported by the party in power, provided the popular issue that enabled this political leader to organize his forces more effectively. Under his leadership his followers banded themselves together into a White Cap organization which tried to gain prestige by claiming relationship with the Ku Klux Klan of reconstruction days.

By the year 1900 this new organization had gained enough adherents to give its members a feeling of power. Political interest was at high tide because of the approaching election. In order to intimidate their chief political opponents, the plantation owners, as well as to cripple their economic power, the White Caps determined upon a policy of driving out the Negro tenants and farm laborers. White Caps dressed in white robes rode at night in groups of ten to twenty to the various farms and plantations and ordered the frightened Negroes to leave the county within thirty days. Immediately the whole county was thrown in turmoil. Many of the Negroes left their homes never to return. Those who stayed behind trusting their "white folks" to protect them received second visits from the night riders, who used more drastic means of persuading the Negroes to obey their commands. In vain did the better elements in the county try to stem the tide. The plantation owners knew that they would be ruined if they lost their labor supply. One man in order to protect his Negro tenants moved them to a swamp where he supplied them with tents and food

while he stationed guards round about to keep the White Caps away. Some of these Negroes and their descendants constitute the majority of the colored population of this county to-day. Whereas in most sections of Mississippi the proportion of Negroes is very high, one can drive many miles through this county without meeting a single Negro. In the community of Pinehaven out of all the Negro laborers who worked on the plantations but one family remains.

When the election was held that fall, the leader of the White Caps and his henchmen gained a majority of the votes. During their administration even the courts were corrupted so that it was impossible to convict a White Cap of any offense. A number of shooting affairs occurred in which some prominent citizens lost their lives. Six influential men in 1903 hired detectives from the Pinkerton agency to secure the names of White Cap members and indict them in the Federal courts. The names of 386 men were secured, all of whom had to go to Jackson and give bond for their appearance. Before the case was called for trial, it was agreed that the best interests of the county demanded that the matter be hushed up.

Strong pressure was brought to bear upon those responsible for the prosecution of the case, with the result that none of the accused men ever came before the court. Many felt that the conviction of such a large number of men and their imprisonment in a Federal penitentiary would simply add to the disgrace of the county and make a bad matter worse. Following this exposure and attempted prosecution, the White Caps disbanded as an organization, although their leaders still had political control.

The ill effects of this political disorganization and corruption were plainly apparent throughout the entire

county. Pinehaven, which had been such a prosperous rural community, received a setback from which it never recovered. One of the most prominent citizens of a near-by community while riding over his plantation was assassinated by one of his political enemies who was concealed behind a log. The plantations were no longer productive because of lack of labor. The White Caps refused to pay their debts and suits against them were of no avail in the corrupt courts. The plantation owners were soon driven to the wall because of their inability to collect money due them and operate their farms with an inadequate labor supply. Those who could do so sold their property and moved to other places. Others thinking that conditions might later improve remained on their farms and cultivated as much land as they could without hired help.

Other Disintegrating Influences. To make matters worse, the boll weevil came a few years later and completed the destruction of the cotton-growing industry. Bad weather conditions for several years in succession interfered with efforts to grow other crops. The timber lands had all been cut, which made impossible any additional money from that source. The long leaf pine in which the people had taken great pride during early years was entirely gone. The two banks in the near-by city of Urbana failed through the embezzlement of funds by the bank officers and caused many of the people of Pinehaven to lose all their savings and surplus cash. The exodus from the community increased year after year, thus depriving it of much-needed leadership. Whereas in former years the young people were proud to settle in their home community after marriage, the discouraging situation caused many to seek their fortunes elsewhere. By the time the World War began, the community had

lost most of its best blood. The young men who were of draft age went away to war but they were not comparable either in social or economic status to those who took up arms for the Confederate cause years before.

Present Conditions. Immediately following the war the community enjoyed a short period of prosperity because of the high prices received for farm products. Dairying was started a few years later and proved to be profitable to those engaged in it. The more progressive tried to secure good stock and build better barns. This new line of work is not very widespread, however, and has by no means brought about the economic rehabilitation of the people. The majority of the people still operate "one-mule farms" and are unable to approach the standard of living that was common twenty-five years ago.

The low state of economic resources has produced its inevitable effect on the institutions of the community. The school has deteriorated until now it has only one poorly-qualified teacher to give instruction to the pupils. Those who finish the elementary grades in this one-teacher school may enter the county high school at Belton if their parents can afford to send them. The majority of the children receive only the schooling that the community is able to provide and start to work on the farm before they are old enough to do heavy work. Since those who go to high school rarely return to Pinehaven to live, the educational status of the people of the community is constantly declining.

Mt. Zion no longer has a full-time pastor and both churches present a run-down, unkempt appearance. The community gatherings that once so much enriched the lives of the people have long been a thing of the past. The people themselves have become careless in their appearance and are glad to receive the cast-off clothes of

their more prosperous relatives who have moved away. These expatriates deplore the evil conditions that have fallen on their home community but are unable to do anything about it. Occasionally they go back to visit but find things so changed for the worse that they make their stay as short as possible. Last year a prominent member of the McGehee family died at Pinehaven and his funeral, which was held at Mt. Zion church, brought about the biggest homecoming of old residents that has been known in years. While the visitors were received with cordiality, the gulf between the Pinehaven residents and their more fashionable and prosperous city cousins was painfully evident. It was hard to realize that twenty-five years ago this community had been the abode of prosperous families who in culture and education as well as in social and economic status were representative of the best that the South has produced.

The chief hope for the economic rehabilitation of this community seems to be the further development of its dairying interests. But even if the community were to gain a more secure economic status, it can not expect to become as important or satisfactory a place to live as it was in former days. The people now living there are of an inferior order of ability. Near-by towns much better located have in recent years been built up, thus making it more difficult and unnecessary for Pinehaven to maintain itself as a trade or social center. Its isolation is more of a handicap than it was in the past, and perhaps the best course for its people would be to face toward the neighboring communities and build up new relationships in their institutions.

CHAPTER XXI

TIPTON: ISOLATION AND SOLIDARITY

Introductory Note. The large place that has been given in the preceding chapters to the destructive power of disintegrating forces must not cause us to forget that a considerable number of communities seem to be successfully adjusting themselves to modern conditions. Various factors necessarily enter into this process of adjustment, and it is by no means easy to explain in any specific instance why disorganization has made so little headway. Very likely the explanation must be sought in the combination of factors rather than in any one element in the situation, and so delicately does the issue sometimes seem to be balanced that trivial occurrences may be sufficient to turn the scale in either direction.

The small community of Tipton, located in one of the ranching districts of the West, would hardly at first glance have been regarded as favorably situated for the development of community solidarity. With its cotton production ruined by the boll weevil, and its village center, far from the beaten lines of travel, deprived of all hope of growth into a city of importance, it would seem that disorganization might have been an expected result. But within the past decade its leading institutions have been rebuilt and strengthened, the recreational interests of the people have been provided for, neighborhood jealousies and friction have declined, and the community is on a more solid footing than ever in its past history. All this seems to have been accomplished without an unusual amount of

strong leadership and in spite of improvements in transportation which have given easy access to larger places with all their attractions.

The Building of the Community. Fifty miles southwest of San Antonio in the gently rolling and semi-arid territory typical of that part of Texas, is located the rural village of Tipton, which during the past fifty years has sought in vain to build itself up as a prosperous trading center for the surrounding region. While in point of origin this community dates back only to the close of the Civil War, the section of the state in which it is situated has a long history of Spanish conquest, Mexican domination, struggle for freedom, and final annexation to the United States. This heritage of long contact with Spanish culture still exerts a profound influence upon the people, as is apparent in the Spanish type of architecture as well as in the continuance of customs handed down from earlier days.

After 1848, when Texas became one of the states of the Union, the region around San Antonio settled down into comparatively peaceful times in striking contrast to the fighting and unrest that had been going on for many years. Settlers began to move in from the southern states of Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and established the large cattle ranches for which this section of the state has become famous. Bailey's Lake, a favorite watering place for cattle during the trail-driving days, became the site of the first settlement in the immediate vicinity of the community later known as Tipton. In 1867 Samuel and Henry Johnson, two brothers, and cattlemen from northern Texas, bought land around the lake and moved there with their families. Their first log houses were chinked with mud and thatched with grass. Houses and barns were built close together as a means of

protection against the Indians who were inclined to make frequent raids upon their provisions and cattle.

Other families gradually settled in this same vicinity and within a few years a log schoolhouse was built. The Johnsons, who were Methodists, arranged for religious services to be held in their homes and later succeeded in getting the people to aid them in building a small Methodist church. By 1890 the two sons of Samuel Johnson had grown up and settled on land a few miles north of their parents' homestead. Five years later the school and church were moved into their neighborhood and located on land which they donated, thus moving the community center to the present site of Tipton.

In the meantime some German families took up homesteads to the north of this settlement and began building a community of their own. Through the aid of the older Methodist church on the south, a mission church was established for the Germans, both places being served by the same pastor. These German settlers clung to their language and customs, maintained for years their own school, and did not mingle freely with their American neighbors. One of the historic controversies in this small church grew out of the effort of one of the old and influential members to enforce the rule that men and women should sit separately during the church service. The solidarity of the Germans was broken up when the young people began to attend the public school and join the parent church where the type of church service was more in accord with their tastes.

The third element that contributed to the making of this community was a small group of Missionary Baptist families who settled on land to the northwest of Tipton about 1890. Although these Baptists were few in number, they succeeded in building their own school and

church and did not associate readily with the older residents. This exclusiveness was maintained until 1912, when they decided to send their children to the consolidated school and moved their small church to Tipton.

The most recent group of families to join this community is the Seventh Day Adventists, who began to arrive in 1920. One of the ranch owners living north of Tipton divided up his land into sections and sold it to these newcomers for farms. Following the example of the other religious groups in the community, they built their own school and church and for five years remained almost entirely aloof from the people of Tipton. The burning of their school building in 1925 caused them to send their children to the consolidated school in the village, where they soon formed friendships among their schoolmates and won places on the athletic teams.

Economic Rise and Decline. Among all these people who settled in this vicinity, the original Methodist families were the most influential, and their church and school became the accepted center of the growing community. Near by a country store was established, which was also used as a post office. The long distances to other towns during the years before automobiles came into common use gave an importance to this country village which otherwise it could not have possessed. The people from the various neighborhoods round about came to this store for their mail and emergency buying and through these contacts learned to know one another and gradually built up a feeling of common interests in spite of religious differences.

During all these early years cattle raising was almost the only source of income. Between 1880 and 1890, when the cattle business was most flourishing, many thousands of head of cattle were driven up the trail from this com-

munity to Oklahoma City and shipping points in Kansas. By 1890 cotton began to be grown successfully. The soil seemed well adapted to this crop, Mexican labor was plentiful and cheap, and in spite of the scanty rainfall, large yields were secured. The combination of cotton and cattle brought great prosperity to the community and by the end of the century the outlook for the future seemed most promising.

Unfortunately, a year or two later the whole situation was changed by the coming of the boll weevil. The cotton crop was ruined, the gins that had been built went out of business, and since then the growing of cotton has almost entirely been discontinued. The people again turned their attention to cattle raising, an occupation well suited for this section of the country, and made no further attempts to develop agriculture. By this time a railroad had been constructed through a town eighteen miles away, which became a convenient shipping center and did away with the former expense and inconvenience of getting their cattle to market. The fifteen years of prosperity prior to the coming of the boll weevil had enabled the people to pay off the mortgages on their ranches and erect comfortable buildings. The failure of cotton, while a disappointment to all, did not destroy the economic basis of community life. Many continued to look hopefully upon their small village and predicted that it would yet develop into a real town. Tipton, however, like many other isolated rural villages, was doomed by the coming of the automobile. By the year 1918 cars had become so common and the roads so much improved that the people preferred to trade at their railway shipping center, where the prices were lower and better goods could be secured. The chief store of Tipton soon failed and closed its doors and to-day the only business establishment that remains

in this village is a dilapidated store which still contains the post office.

Progress Toward Community Solidarity. This economic failure of their village center was not accompanied by any social disorganization or loss of interest in the community itself. From the earliest years of this community, the people, in spite of religious differences which loomed large at that time, were successful in working together to solve their communal needs. There was no difficulty in getting the several neighborhoods to sign a petition for a post office to be located near the Methodist church and school. The coming to this place for the daily mail was the first important factor in building up a community consciousness. A little later the difficulty of getting a doctor in time of sickness was solved by the various families pledging themselves to contribute toward a guarantee fund of one thousand dollars a year for a physician who would live in their community. Each family was entitled to receive free treatment up to the amount contributed and the doctor was permitted to charge the usual rates for additional work. This arrangement continued for several years until improved roads and automobiles made medical assistance from the city more easily accessible.

It has been in the school, however, where the coöperative spirit of the people has been most evident. Even before the village was started, the school established by the original settlers had gained prestige and the children from the other neighborhoods preferred to go there to school. By 1912 the interest in consolidation had sufficiently developed to make possible a unanimous vote in favor of uniting in support of a community school at Tipton to include both elementary and high school grades. The erection of the new building was a great event in

which the people of the community gladly participated. Teams were loaned by the neighboring ranchmen to haul the sand, brick, and lumber to the school grounds. Much volunteer labor was contributed, and every day there were visitors from the different neighborhoods to watch the progress of the building. Three years later the building was enlarged by adding an auditorium, which has become the popular meeting place for various community gatherings.

In contrast to many other rural communities education has been held in such high repute that there has been no need of enforcing the school attendance laws. Practically all the children continue until they have graduated from the high school and a considerable number have attended a junior college in San Antonio or have taken a course at the State Agricultural School. All who have thus far gone away to school have, with one exception, returned to live on ranches of their own or to teach in the local high school. The movement of the young people to cities has not yet begun, although the continued large families in a section that cannot support many more people in comfort will likely make this inevitable in the near future.

The high school is prized not merely for its educational advantages but serves as a recreational center as well. Amateur dramatics held in the school auditorium are the most popular form of entertainment. Usually the four high school classes take turns in putting on plays, assisted at times by former graduates of the school. The rehearsals, which usually last for several weeks, are held at night and furnish an excellent opportunity to the young people to meet together in a social way. Most of the courting in the community takes place in connection with these rehearsals and the intermarriage of the young people of the different neighborhoods has thereby been facili-

tated. While in the earlier years of this community the American Methodists, German Methodists, and the Baptists rarely mingled together, they are now so closely related through intermarriage that neighborhood differences are largely forgotten. This new unity is at no time more evident than on the nights when these plays are given. The school auditorium is packed to the doors, and in spite of the unskilled acting and inadequate stage scenery, the entertainment is thoroughly enjoyed and all take great pride in the accomplishments of the children.

The high school basketball team has for the past ten years held the championship in that section of the state. This is an achievement of which the people are very proud because most of the competing schools are located in towns of good size and employ coaches, a luxury which Tipton cannot afford. In 1926, when the Tipton team was honored with an invitation to play one of the large high school teams in San Antonio, thirty cars filled with loyal "rooters" accompanied them. The Tipton team owes considerable of its prowess to the fact that the former members of the team keep up their interest in basketball and come to the school at least once each week to play with and coach the boys. Baseball is also a popular sport which draws many people to the school during the spring of the year. It is surprising how many even of the older men of the community find it convenient to drive in to Tipton from the surrounding ranches late in the afternoon either to join in a game with the boys or to stand around and watch the fun.

The ability of the people to work together in community affairs was clearly shown in 1926, when the Tipton High School acted as hosts for the high school athletic field meet for that section of the state. The whole community worked for weeks in preparation for this occasion.

The running track was put in first-class condition, additional tennis and volley ball courts were constructed, and the school house and grounds were cleaned as they had never been before. In a community where there were no restaurants or hotels, arrangements were made for housing and feeding between two and three hundred visitors for a period of three days. Through hearty coöperation on the part of all, the many difficulties caused by their isolated location were overcome and the athletic meet was pronounced a great success.

The only difficulty in connection with the consolidated school occurred in 1922, when the group of teachers living in the teacherage bought a Victrola and began to entertain the young men of the community in informal evening dances. This new departure so alarmed the school superintendent that he reprimanded the teachers and reported their conduct to the school trustees. The teachers retaliated by loading the Victrola on a car and, accompanied by a number of local young men, drove to a near-by bridge, where they spent the evening dancing in the moonlight. A few days later the school trustees called a meeting of the older people to discuss this matter. Opinion was divided as to what should be their attitude toward dancing at the teacherage, and after hours of futile discussion the people disbanded without a decision being reached. The school trustees then took the matter in their own hands by discharging three of the teachers who seemed to be the leading spirits in these social affairs. The new teachers who were secured to take their places were required to promise that they would not dance or have any social engagements with the high school boys. The following year a more detailed contract was drawn up in which the teacher agreed, in addition to the above, not to have any social engagements except on week-ends.

No difficulty has thus far been experienced in getting teachers to sign this contract nor do the teachers seem to resent these restrictions placed rather arbitrarily upon their personal conduct. The monotony of their social life is broken up by frequent trips to San Antonio to attend shows and parties, and occasionally friends from a distance come to the teacherage for week-end visits.

While the community supports two churches, the Methodist and Baptist, there is no friction or jealousy between them as is so often the case in rural communities. The Methodists have the strongest congregation and in 1923 built an attractive modern church, well equipped in every way. In order that the best possible building might be constructed with the money available, the members employed a local contractor and contributed most of the labor themselves. The congregation employs a full-time resident pastor, who has been very successful in building up the various church activities. Social occasions are held at the church frequently and are enjoyed by the people of the entire community. During recent years the Baptist young people have not merely attended these Methodist social functions but have shown a marked tendency to join the Methodist church. The latter is already accepted as a community church, and within a few years it seems likely that it will have the entire field to itself.

Another unifying force in the community is the Masonic lodge, to which practically all the men belong. In the absence of any social service agency in the community, the Masons usually accept responsibility for looking after those who may happen to be in need of assistance. A few years ago when a tenant family, recently arrived in the community with no resources of their own, were struck down with typhoid fever, the Masons secured a doctor, employed a nurse, and saw that all were sup-

plied with food until they had recovered. Whereas in many small communities two or more lodges divide the interests of the people, in Tipton the men have united in support of this one secret order and take pride in carrying on its various activities.

Unlike many other small village communities in this section of Texas, Tipton is characterized by a loyalty and unity that persists in spite of the disintegrating forces that have come upon it during recent years. The people have their outside interests but still maintain pride in their local institutions and enjoy their association together in community gatherings at school, church, and lodge. Every month or two practically all the families manage to visit San Antonio, where they do their shopping, attend shows and entertainments, and visit friends and relatives. These city trips have not yet aroused a feeling of discontent with the comparatively simple life of their isolated community. The young people remain attached to their homes and those who for one reason or another go elsewhere to live, always return to Tipton for frequent visits and continue their interest in its affairs.

Perhaps it is their isolation from other larger communities that has held back thus far the forces of disintegration. On the other hand, it may be that the people of this rural community have successfully adjusted themselves to modern conditions and are pointing the way toward the building of the satisfying and wholesome rural community of the future.

CHAPTER XXII

STUDYING THE COMMUNITY

The Use of Community Records as Teaching Material. The case method of instruction has become so widely accepted that it no longer needs any explanation or defense. In the field of social work greatest progress has been made in its use by those concerned with problems of the individual and the family. Case records dealing with family problems, juvenile delinquency, and mental abnormalities have been published in sufficient measure to furnish fairly adequate teaching material for classes engaged in study of those subjects.

The social surveys of communities, which have become so common in recent years, have proved of great value to the student interested in the nature and extent of social problems. Their emphasis, however, upon description of conditions rather than upon events and changes going on within the community distinguishes them sharply from the types of case records that have been built up in other fields. Pettit's "Case Studies in Community Organization" represents the first important effort to provide community records comparable to those used in the teaching of social case work. His records deal with the experiences met with in building up certain organizations within the community and are specially designed for classes studying the technique of community organization.

In the community records set forth in the present volume, the emphasis has not been upon problems of organization but rather upon the social forces that have entered into the building of the community. Their pur-

pose is to throw light on the nature of the community instead of discussing ways of bringing about its improvement. They are particularly adapted for classes in sociology where it is desired to provide the student with actual cases as a basis for discussion of such sociological concepts as conflict, isolation, segregation, assimilation, social distance, and social forces.

In order to facilitate the use of these records for class discussion, a list of questions has been prepared which call attention to significant features and events in the various communities described. With these questions as a point of departure, the student can be led to recall his own experiences and observations in his home community and analyze these facts in the effort to gain a better understanding of community problems. One of the purposes of the class discussion should be to encourage the student to view his own community objectively, for his community experiences are real and vivid, and when properly analyzed and interpreted, furnish his best means of getting at the real meaning of the concepts used in the scientific study of communities.

As a further help in this direction, it has been found useful to require the student to write out a brief description of his own community with special emphasis on conflict situations, instances of successful coöperation, crises in its development, or other features that impress him as possessing real significance. The more mature students may be called upon to prepare detailed case studies covering the whole course of development of their home community. This is, however, a difficult task, and satisfactory results can only be secured from those who are thoroughly oriented in the point of view of community analysis and possess the capacity to rise above the provincial outlook of their earlier impressions and experiences.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

CHAPTER I

1. In what respects do social surveys of the present day differ from those made during the first decade of this century?
2. Point out the essential differences between a case study of a community and a social survey.
3. Prepare an outline for a sociological study of a community.
4. Illustrate the complexity of community life by making a list of the social forces in your home community.
5. In view of the varied elements and interests that enter into community life, is community solidarity a goal that can be achieved?
6. Mention specific instances that illustrate how rapid cultural changes produce community problems.
7. Why should attempts to promote social legislation always be preceded by a thorough study of the entire situation?
8. To what extent may social change be regarded as a product of conscious human guidance?
9. Collect from all available sources information showing whether the small towns in your state are declining in population and in importance as trade centers.
10. Mention some of the handicaps of the small town to-day which were not so serious fifty years ago.
11. Describe out of your own observation, if possible, a small town that has decreased in size during the past few decades.
12. What problems seem to be characteristic of rapidly-growing communities?
13. What methods may we use to measure the mobility of city life?

14. What are the factors that tend to bring about segregation of people in definite neighborhoods or communities?
15. Indicate on a map of a city with which you are familiar the various residential districts that may be characterized as areas of segregation.
16. Using your home community as an example, point out the inequalities in the rate of development of its various institutions. How do you explain this lack of uniform progress?
17. Give illustrations out of your own observation that indicate a decline of sectarian conflicts in community life.
18. To what extent is social stratification a disturbing factor in American communities?
19. Describe community situations where disorganization resulted from clashes between dominant personalities.
20. To what extent may disorganization be regarded as a normal aspect of community life?

CHAPTER II

21. What factors contributed to the solidarity of Eno Mills during its pioneer stage of growth?
22. Explain why Eno Mills was unable to keep pace with the growth of rival towns in that section of the state.
23. Point out evidences of conservatism in Eno Mills that prevented normal development during its early period of prosperity.
24. To what extent did religious conflict bring about disorganization within the community?
25. What led to the emancipation of the young people? What effect did their emancipation have upon the community?
26. What other factors besides lack of suitable employment have brought about the exodus of the young people?
27. Is there reason to believe that moral standards are lower in the community to-day than they were a generation ago?

28. Is it correct to say that Eno Mills' difficulties are primarily due to lack of economic progress?
29. Is community growth essential for community prosperity?
30. May we regard conditions in Eno Mills as typical of those found in similarly situated small towns?

CHAPTER III

31. What are the more important bonds that have held together the Scottish community of Wagram?
32. Why was there less religious conflict in Wagram than in Eno Mills?
33. What brought about the widespread interest in education among the people of Wagram?
34. Explain why Wagram's failure to grow in size did not prove to be a disintegrating force in the community.
35. Why was Wagram more successful than Eno Mills in retaining the loyalty of its young people?
36. What devices have been used to perpetuate the traditions of the community?
37. Give illustrations showing the methods of control of the young people.
38. To what extent is the continued solidarity of this community dependent upon its favorable economic situation?
39. Why are the people more liberal in their attitudes toward recreation than is frequently the case in rural communities?
40. What are the evidences of a gradual breakdown of the old solidarity? Have we reason to believe that this community has successfully adjusted itself to modern conditions?

CHAPTER IV

41. Mention the ecological factors that profoundly influenced the nature of Fairmont and its process of growth.
42. What were the disorganizing influences that prevented normal control of community life?
43. Was the social stratification in Fairmont inevitable in

such a situation? What might have been done to minimize its ill effects?

44. What were the unifying forces during the town's period of expansion?
45. Discuss the disorganizing effect of political conflict in the community.
46. What modification of social attitudes occurred during the period of decline?
47. In what respects did the disorganization during the period of rapid growth differ from the disorganization that accompanied the town's economic ruin?

CHAPTER V

48. Show how the conditions that prevailed during the pioneer days of Roxbury were favorable for the development of community solidarity.
49. Describe Roxbury as a popular residential suburb of Boston.
50. What change in conditions brought about the first beginnings of disorganization?
51. What factors led to the industrialization of Roxbury?
52. Why was the community unable to assimilate its new immigrants?
53. What attempts were made by the community to adjust itself to the new situation?
54. Point out the evidences of deterioration that accompanied Roxbury's transition to an industrial community.
55. Describe the efforts of the traditional religious organizations of the community to cope with the new problems.
56. To what extent must the present disorganization of Roxbury be regarded as an inevitable accompaniment of modern city growth?

CHAPTER VI

57. What are the essential characteristics of a southern cotton mill town?
58. Is there reason to believe that the conflicts between lead-

ers during the early history of Ferrum influenced its later development?

59. Describe the different social classes in the community.
60. How do you explain the development of factionalism in such a homogeneous community? Discuss the effect of factionalism on the school situation.
61. What differences in social status existed between the cotton mill employees?
62. Discuss the problem of mobility of the mill people. What is the probable explanation of the excessive rate of mobility.
63. Show how the feeling of inferiority that seems to be characteristic of many cotton mill workers interferes with community solidarity.
64. Discuss the efforts of the churches to meet the social problems of the community.
65. Is the disorganization of Ferrum due primarily to its type of industrial organization?

CHAPTER VII

66. Describe the conditions in Belvidere prior to the coming of the lumber company.
67. What type of organization did the lumber company officials build up in order to control community affairs?
68. What justification was there for their paternalistic policy of control?
69. Describe the conflicts between the old traditions and the new customs initiated by the lumber company.
70. In what aspects of community life were the new innovations most successful? What were the most conspicuous failures?
71. Has the new industrial régime succeeded in modifying the traditional attitudes of the mountain people?
72. Evaluate the results of the paternalistic control of this community.
73. When the lumber industry is withdrawn from this community, will it disintegrate as did Fairmont?

CHAPTER VIII

74. What were the more important disorganizing factors in Mt. Gilead?
75. Point out the factors in the early history of the community that laid the foundation for its later conflicts.
76. Show how the problem of school consolidation was complicated by religious prejudice.
77. How has the type of agriculture affected the struggle for community solidarity?
78. Describe the economic and moral conflict between the two chief leaders in the community.
79. To what extent has the church failed to bring about unity among the people?
80. Are the changes now taking place in Mt. Gilead making it less a community than it was in the past?
81. Is the situation in Mt. Gilead typical of other rural communities?

CHAPTER IX

82. Compare Albany and Mt. Gilead from the point of view of their geographical setting and type of farming.
83. What facts in the past history of Albany throw light on the present-day attitudes of the people?
84. Why was there less open conflict in Albany than in Mt. Gilead?
85. How do you explain the great amount of tolerance among the people of Albany for new ideas and methods?
86. Discuss the way in which the community adjusted itself to the coming of the French-Canadians.
87. What has been the effect of modern means of travel and communication upon neighborhood life?
88. To what extent are the social attitudes of the people in keeping with modern ideas and conditions?
89. Why has Albany apparently been more successful than many other rural communities in preserving a balance between stability and change?

CHAPTER X

90. What part did the physical structure of Big Lick play in its lack of unity?
91. What characteristics of Big Lick grew out of the fact that it was a single industry town?
92. Does the domination of a town by a single industry tend to produce unity or disorganization?
93. How do you explain the provincial attitudes of the business men of the community?
94. Discuss the interrelation of the social and economic factors that brought about the division of the community into two parts.
95. Why have the churches made no headway in developing a spirit of unity among the people?
96. Point out the efforts made by the community to maintain its moral standards.
97. What is the outlook for the future of a town so situated?

CHAPTER XI

98. Point out the factors in the origin and development of Stuart-Harmon that led to their wide divergence in social attitudes.
99. What part does economic rivalry play in the conflict between these two towns?
100. Why has not this intercommunity rivalry spurred each town on to greater efforts to improve conditions?
101. Describe the social stratification within the town of Stuart and discuss its effect upon community development.
102. To what extent did the school succeed in bringing about a feeling of solidarity among the young people?
103. Is this picture of the drabness and monotony of small town life exaggerated or is it typical of other places similarly located?
104. Discuss the reasons for the breakdown of social control of the young people.

105. Discuss the interrelation between social disorganization and the recreational attitudes and practices prevalent in the two communities.
106. Suggest practicable methods of bringing about the unification of these two communities.

CHAPTER XII

107. Describe the different population elements that entered into the making of the Long Creek school district.
108. What were the various factors that made difficult the unification of the various neighborhoods into one large school district?
109. What part did strong leadership play in promoting school consolidation?
110. Show how the individualistic attitudes of the people of the various neighborhoods persisted even after consolidation had been completed.
111. What circumstances caused the children to develop a feeling of loyalty for the new consolidated school?
112. Discuss the crisis faced by the new school during its first year of operation.
113. Is it advisable to proceed with such coöperative undertakings as a consolidated school when there is a strong minority opposed to it?
114. Does the story of Long Creek indicate the possibility of building up a feeling of loyalty for enlarged rural communities that will be comparable to traditional neighborhood loyalties?

CHAPTER XIII

115. Explain the growth of cultural differences between the Methodists and Moravians during the early history of Daytona.
116. Trace the beginnings of the decline of church solidarity in this community.
117. Show how the good roads controversy led to the realignment of the people as conservatives and progressives.

118. Discuss the conflict which arose concerning the proposed consolidation of schools.
119. What is the present attitude toward religious differences?
120. What has been the effect of conflict over civic affairs on church loyalty?
121. Is religious rivalry a less significant factor in community disorganization than it was a generation ago?

CHAPTER XIV

122. Explain the reason for the segregation of the Croatans in a separate community.
123. What was the attitude of the outside world toward the Croatans?
124. Discuss the problem of disunity within the community.
125. What difficulties arose in connection with the administration of their school?
126. Why are the ill effects of segregation in a rural community likely to be more serious than in a large city?

CHAPTER XV

127. Explain the failure of Pomona to develop into a city of importance.
128. Is there any correlation between its failure to develop economically and its backward social institutions?
129. Point out evidences of social disorganization within the community.
130. How do you account for the conservative attitudes toward recreation in this as well as in many other small towns?
131. Why is it difficult for a community that has reached its limit in population growth to adjust itself to such a situation?

CHAPTER XVI

132. What were some of the achievements of Granville during its past history?

133. What factors led to its decline as a place of importance?
134. Why did it lose out during the period of southern industrial development?
135. What types of people now constitute its present population?
136. Discuss its present conflicting groups and interests.
137. Show how its present industrial development is a disorganizing factor in the town.
138. Under the circumstances was the decline of Granville an inevitable result of forces beyond its control?

CHAPTER XVII

139. Why is conflict between "town and gown" an almost universal characteristic of college and university towns?
140. Describe the class and group lines that were drawn in Jefferson.
141. Explain the nature of the economic conflict between the University and the town people.
142. To what extent are town and university lines ignored in building up organizations within the community?
143. Describe the experience of the Associated Charities in uniting both elements of the community in support of its program.
144. Are differences in social attitudes an important factor in dividing the town in two groups?
145. Show how the conflict between "town and gown" varies in communities of different size.

CHAPTER XVIII

146. Point out the similarities and differences between the situation at Clarksville and that at Fairmont.
147. Discuss the futile efforts of the churches to unite upon a program of recreation.
148. Describe the disorganization that grew out of the school situation.
149. Would it have been advisable for the mining company under the circumstances to have assumed larger responsibility for the welfare of the community?

150. Did Clarksville's problem of disorganization grow primarily out of its heterogeneous population?
151. What other disorganizing forces interfered with the town's development?

CHAPTER XIX

152. Describe the various elements and forces that entered into the early growth of Penton.
153. What evidence do we have of the aggressiveness of the people in business ventures prior to the Civil War?
154. Discuss the period of industrial progress during the latter part of last century.
155. Why was Penton unable, even during its most rapid period of development, to keep pace with neighboring industrial cities?
156. What were the various causes that brought about a decline in the town's prosperity?
157. What was the effect of the World War upon the industrial situation in Penton?
158. What indications are there that the town may again recover its former industrial status?
159. Is there any evidence that the retarded growth of Penton has made more difficult its problems of social organization?

CHAPTER XX

160. What were the more important characteristics of Pinehaven during its early period of development?
161. Why was it able to recover so rapidly from the effects of the Civil War?
162. How do you explain the lack of religious conflict in the community at a time when the spirit of sectarianism was a prominent feature of many southern communities?
163. Point out other evidences of community solidarity during the latter part of last century.
164. Explain the political situation that led to the disruption of the community.

165. Why did the White Caps adopt the policy of driving the Negroes out of the county?
166. What other factors besides lack of labor supply caused the plantation owners to leave the community?
167. Describe the present evidences of disintegration of the community.
168. Since the people in this community had a long tradition of success and seemed unusually capable, why were they unable to adjust themselves to the changed conditions?

CHAPTER XXI

169. What were some of the natural handicaps faced by the community of Tipton?
170. What diverse population elements had to be welded together in the making of this community?
171. Explain why the coming of the boll weevil did not lead to the disorganization of the community.
172. Show how the school has been a unifying force in community life.
173. Discuss the difficulties that arose in the community over the problem of dancing.
174. What has been the secret of the success of these people in retaining their loyalty to their local institutions?
175. Is this an example of a rural community that has successfully adjusted itself to modern conditions?

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community studies with special emphasis upon the interaction of social forces in community life. Since this new approach to the study of the community deals with such intangible factors as the attitudes and sentiments of the people, their conflicts, prejudices, customs, and traditions, its task is by no means easy, and it is not surprising that its problems of methodology are far from being satisfactorily solved. Nevertheless, considerable progress has been made in devising methods of community analysis.

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